

THE
COPIE OF A LET-
TER SENT OVT OF
ENGLAND TO DON BERNARDIN
MENDOZA AMBASSADOUR IN FRANCE FOR
the King of Spaine, declaring the state of England, con-
trary to the opinion of *Don Bernardin*, and of all
his partizans Spaniardes and others.

*This Letter, although it was sent to Don Bernardin Mendoza,
yet, by good hap, the Copies therof aswell in English as in French, were
found in the chamber of one Richard Leigh a Seminarie Priest,
who was lately executed for high treason committed in the
time that the Spanishe Armada was on the seas.*

Whereunto are adioyned certaine late Aduertisements, concerning the
losses and distresses happened to the Spanish Nauie, aswell in fight with the
English Nauie in the narrow seas of England, as also by tempests, and con-
trarie winds, vpon the West, and North coasts of Ireland, in their
returne from the Northerne Isles beyond
Scotland.



Imprinted at London by L. Vautrollier for
Richard Field. 1588.

Geo: J. S. 1588

In Classum Hispanicam
misere dispersam
Epigramma

Præda licet Mundus non sit satis ampla Philippo,
Ampla satis Mundo præda Philippus erit.

Teo. Mommius Scatus



Printed in London by I. Widdowes
1683

THE COPIE OF A LET-
TER SENT OVT OF ENGLAND
TO DON BERNARDINE MENDOZA AM-
BASSADOVR IN FRANCE FOR THE
KING OF SPAIN.

MY Lord Ambassadour, though at the
time of my last large writing to you of
the state of this countrey, & of our long
desired expectation of succours promi-
sed, I did not thinke to haue had such a
sorrowfull occasion of any second wri-
ting, as nowe I haue of a lamentable
change of matters of estate here: yet I
can not forbear (though it be with as many sighes as lyes)
to aduertise you of the truth of our miserable condition, as
now to me and others of our partie the same appeareth to be:
that by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present
now in despaire, your L. who haue had the principall mana-
ging hitherto of all our causes of long time both here & there in
France, betwixt the King Catholique assisted with the Po-
tentates of the holy League, & all our countrymen which haue
professed obedience to the Church of Rome, may now fall into
some new and better consideration, how our state both for our
selues at home, and our brethren abroad, now at this present
fallen (as it were) into better despaire, may be revived and re-
stozed to some new hope, with better assurance of successe then
hath happened hitherto. For which purpose I haue thought it
necessary to aduertise you in what termes this countrey now
standeth, farre other wise then of late, both we at home, and o-
thers abroad did make account of.

You know how we haue depeded in firme hope of a change
of the state of this countrey by the meanes of the deuout and

In whartermes
England stan-
deth in the o-
pinion of the
Catholiques.

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earnest incitations of the Popes holines, of the King Catholique, and of other Potentates of the holy League, to take vpon them the inuasion and conquest of this Realme: and by your assuraunces, and firme promises, we were now of a long season past perswaded, that the King Catholique had taken vpon him the same glorious Act, and thereof from yeare to yeare we looked for the execution: being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our hope, and sundry times solicited by your earnest requests, and perswasions, to encourage our partie at home not to wauer, as many were disposed, by sight of continuall delayses, but to be ready to ioyne with the outward forces, that should come for this inuasion. Neuerthelesse the delayses and prolongations of times appointed for the coming of the Kings forces, specially by sea, haue bene so many, as vntill this last spring, we were in despaire: at what time you aduertised vs with great assurance that all the Kings preparations, which had bene in making ready these three or foure yeares together, were now in full perfection, and without faile would this Sommer come into our seas, with such mighty strength, as no partie of England, or of Christendome, could resist or abide their force: & for more suretie, and for auoyding of all doubtles, to make the intended conquest sure, the same should also haue ioyned to it, the mighty armie which the Duke of Parma had made ready, and kept in readinesse in the low countreyes all this yeare past, where with he should land, and so both by sea and land, this Realme should be innaded, and a speedie conquest made thereof, to the which were alwayes added sundry reasons: whereupon was gathered, that neither by sea, nor by land, there would be any great resistance found here, but a strong partie in this Realme to ioyne with the forreine force. For otherwile then with such helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know, it was alwayes doubted, that no forreine force could preuaile against this Realme, being (as it is) enuironed by sea, and notably replenished with more mightie and stronger people then any countrie in Christendome. But with the hope of the landing of these great armies and our assistance in taking part, we here continued

The Spanishe preparation iij. yeares in making.

The Duke of Parmas Army in Flaunders.

No forreine force could inuade England, without a strong partie in England.

Hope of victory by the Spanishe Army with assistance of a partie in England this sommer.

nued all this yeare past in assured hope of a full victorie, untill this last moneth. But alas and with a deadly sorrow, we must all at home, and abroade, lament our sudden fall, from an immeasurable high ioye, to an vnmeasurable deepe despaire, and that so hastily fallen out, as I may say, we haue seene in the space of eight or nine dayes in this last moneth of July, which was from the apparance of the Catholique great Spanie vpon the coast of England, untill it was forced to flie from the coast of Flanders nere Callice, towards the vnknowne parts of the cold North, all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth but vpon an imagined conquest, bitterly overthrowen, and as it were with an earthquake, all our castles of Comfort brought to the ground, which now (it seemeth) were builded but in the ayre, or vpon waves of the sea, for they are all perished, all banished away even from our thoughtes.

All Spanishe
hope fallen in
nine dayes.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best thinke of such a worke so long time in framing, to be so suddenly overthrowen, as by no reason could procede of mā, or of any earthly power, but onely of God. And if so it be (as no body can otherwise impute this late change & fall frō our expected fortune, but to God almighty) then surely our case is either dangerous, or doubtfull how to iudge thereof, whether we haue bene these many yeares in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good, and wise men, which of long time haue secretly continued in most earnest deuotion to the Popes authoritie, begin now to stagger in their mindes, and to conceaue that this way of reformation intended by the Popes holines is not allowable in the sight of God, by leaning the ancient course of the Church by Excommunication, which was the exercise of the spirituall sword, and in place thereof to take the temporal sword, and put it into a Monarches hand to invade this realme with force and Armes, yea to destroy the Quene thereof, and all her people addicted to her: which are in very truth nowe seene, by great proufe this yeare, to be in a sort infinite, and inuincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by blood, by slaughter, & by conquest, agreeth not with Christes doctrine, nor y^e doctrine of S. Peter, or S. Paule. And to tell your

The Cathol.
doubt of their
cause, seeing the
hand of God is
against the Ar-
my.

Many English
Catholiques
mislike of the
Popes refor-
mation by force.

Lordship truly, I find presently a great number of wise and deuout people, though they continue in their former religion, yet do they secretly condemne this intended refozation by blood and force. In so much as I heard a good diuine alledge a text of S. Gregorie in these words, *Quid de Episcopis qui uerbis tueri uolunt Canones dicunt bene paternitas uestra nonit, pastores sumus non percussores. Noua enim est predicatio, qua uerbis exigit fidem.* This sentence I obtained of him, because it seemeth to be charitablie witten. But leauing this authozitie among Doctozs, I must needes say that in very trueth no one thing hath done at this time moze hurt to the action, then the vntimely hastie publishing abroad in this realme befoze this Armie of Spaine was readie to come forth to the seas, of sundry things witten and put in print, & sent into this realme, to notifie to the people, that all the realme should be inuaded and conquered, that the Quene should be destroyed, all the Nobilitie and men of reputation, of honour, and wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that wold withstand the inuasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and landes bestowed vpon the conquerers: things vniuersally so obiously taken, as the hearts of all sorts of people were enflamed: some with ire, some with feare, but all sorts almost, without exception, resolved to venture their liues for the withstanding of all maner of conquest, wherewith enery body can say this realme was not threated these fife hundred yeres and moze.

These reports were brought to this Realme with good credit, not in secret but in publique writings and printings, & toke deepe rote in all kind of people of this land: and in deed was of the moze credit, first by reason of a new Bull lately published at Rome by the Popes holinesse (which I haue scene) with moze seueritie then others of his predecessozs, whereby the Quene here was accursed, and pronounced to be depriued of hir crowne, and the inuasion and conquest of the realme committed by the Pope, to the King Catholique, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the Crowne to him selfe, or to limit it to such a Potentate as the Pope and he should

The vntimely publishing of the intended conquest befoze the Spanish nauie was ready did great hurt.

The hearts of all sorts of people enflamed against the Spaniards vaunting to conquer the land.

The vntimely publication of the Popes Bull did hurt to the common cause.

should name. And secondly, there followed a large explanation of this Bull, by sending hither a number of English bookes printed in Antwerp euen when the Paue of Spaine was daily looked for, the originall whereof was written by the reuerend father Cardinall Allen in Aprill last, called in his owne writing the Cardinall of England, which booke was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the aduersaries) so arrogantly, falsely, and scandalessly, against the person of the Quene, against hir father King Henry the eight, against all her Nobilitie, and Counsell, as in very truth I was hartily sorry to perceauie so many good men of our owne religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accompanied a father of the Church, who was also a bozne subiect of this Crowne (though by the aduersaries reported to be very basely bozne) such foule, vile, irreuerent, and violent speeches, such trefull and bloody threatenings, of a Quene, of a Nobilitie, yea of the whole people of his owne nation.

Cardinall Allens bookes haue done much hurt to the intended inuasion and conquest.

Sozy, and most sozy I am to report the generall euill conceipt of these vnordnat & vnadvised proceedings of this Cardinall, of whose rash choise to such a place, the world speaketh strangely, as though he came to it through corruption of the Popes Sister, without liking of the Colledge of Cardinales, where otherwise the blessed intention of our holy father, and the desire also of the sayde Cardinall, might without such fatall bloody pemonitions, and threatenings of future inuasions & conquests by the Catholique Kings noble forces, haue taken better place.

The Cardinals rash and violent writing misliked by the Catholiques.

There was also to adde the moze credite to these terrible prognostications, such kind of other bookes printed in Spaine and translated into French, (as it is sayd by your Lordship) containing particular long descriptions, and catalogues of Armados of Castile, of Andalouzia, of Biscaye, of Guipusque, of Portingal, of Naples, of Sicil, of Ragusa, and other countreys of the Leuant, with a masse of all kind of prouisions, beyond measure, for the said Armados, sufficient in estimation, to be able to make conquest of many kingdomes or countreys. And one great Argument is published by the aduersaries to stirre

The multitude of bookes published to shewe the greatnes of the Spanish Naue, did also hurt.

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by the minds of the Nobilitie of England against the Spaniards, which is very maliciously inuented, to shew the intention of the conquest, not only of England, but of the whole Ile of Britayn: mouing all men specially to marke by the description of the Armada, that there are specially named such a number of Noble men, as Princes, Marquises, Condes, and Dons, that are called Adventurers, without any office or pay, and such another number also of men with great titles of honoz, and many of them named Captaines and Alferez, without office, but yet in sold, and therefore called Entertenidos, as all those being for no seruice in the Armada may be well presumed (say they) to haue come to haue possessed the rooms of all the Noble men in England, and Scotland: and this fiction hath taken more place then it is worth. And though these armies were in deede exceeding great and mightie, yet they were so amplified beyond all measure in these booke, as in no preparation of Christendome in former times against the Saracins or Turks could be greater. By this meanes this Queene, & hir Realme, being thus forewarned, and terrified, take occasion with the aide of her people, being not onely firmly (as she was perswaded) deuoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to stirre up their whole forces for their defence, against such prognosticated conquests, as in a very short time all her whole Realme and euery corner were speedily furnished with armed people on horsebacke, and on fote, and those continually trayned, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike maner, as in no age euer was befoze in this Realme. Here was no sparing of money to provide, horse, armour, weapon, powder, and all necessities, no not want of promise of Rewardes, cariages, and victuals in euery County of the Realme, without exception, to attend vpon the Armies. And to this generall furniture euery man voluntarily offred, very many their seruice personally without wages, others money for armour and weapons, and to wage souldiours, a matter strange and neuer the like heard of in this realme or elsewhere: And this general reason moued all men to large contributions, that to withstand a Conquest where all should be lost, there was no time to spare a portion.

The forewarnings of the Armadas greatness caused the Queene to put all hir Realme in force beyond all former.

The numbers made ready in the Realme I can not affirme of myne owne knowledge, but I haue heard it reported, when I was grieued to thinke the same to be so true, that there was through England no quarter East, West, North & South, but all rescurred in one mind to be in readines to serue for the realme: and that some one countrie was able to make a sufficient Armie of twentie thousand men fit to fight, and fiftene thousand of them well armed and weaponed: and in some countries the number of fortie thousand able men.

The Armies made ready in Englande in euery quarter of the Realme.

The maritime countreies from Cornewall, all along the Southside of England, to Kent: and from Kent Eastward, by Essex, Suffolke, and Norfolk to Lincolneshire (which countreies with their hauens were well described vnto you in perfect Blots, when Francis Throgmorton, first did treat with your L. about the same) were so furnished of men of warre, both of them selues, and with resort of aide from their next Shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any forrein forces, but there were within eight and fortie houres to come to the place aboue twenty thousand fighting men on horseback & on foot, with field ordinance, victuals, pioners and carriages, and all those governed by the principall Noble men of the countries, and reduced vnder Captaines of knowledge.

The maritime Countreies provided at lading places with 20000. men.

And one thing I heard of, that was very politikelly ordered & executed at this time, as of many late yeares was not vled: that as the Leaders and officers of the particuler Bands were men of experience in the warres: so to make the Bands strong & constant, choice was made of the principall Knightes of all countreies to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth: whereby all the forces so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to sticke to their Lordes and Chieftaines, and the Chieftaines to trust to their owne tenants. And to remember one strange speech that I heard spoken may be maruelled at, but it was auowed to me for a truth, that one Gentleman in Kent had a band of 150. foot men, which were worth in goodes aboue 150000. poundes sterling, besides their landes: such men would fight stoutely before they would haue lost their goodes, & by likelihood at this time,

All the bands were vnder the principall Knightes of the realme composed of the most mighty men being their tenants and seruantes.

A strange report of the wealth of a band of souldiours.

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many other bandes were made of such principall men, both of wealth and strength. Of these things I am soyy to haue cause to wryte in this soyt: but because you may see how heretofore you haue bene deceaued with aduertisements of many, which had no pꝛoofe to know the truth thereof, and so I confesse my selfe in some thinges to haue erred, namely, in imagining that whensoever any foꝛrein power should be sene ready to land in any part of this realme, there would haue bene found but a small number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Quene, but that the same would haue bene very vnable foꝛ the warres, vntrayned, rawe, & ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons: and that also the Noblemen & Gentlemen that were in this realme of our Religion, wherof, you know, we made accompt whē you were here in England of very many, although many of the be dead since that tyme, but at this tyme there are not so many fennes, as we accepted hundreds, whom we thought would haue shewed themselves like men of courage foꝛ our common cause, and would haue suddenly surprised the houses, families, & strength of the heretiques and aduersaries.

But now, such is our calamitie, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke, foꝛ our sinnes, or else foꝛ confounding of our bold opinions, and pꝛesumptions of our owne strength, to put in the hartes of all persons here, one like mynde, and courage, to withstand the intended inuasion, aswell in such as we accepted Catholiques, as also in the heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that foꝛ all earnest pꝛocceeding foꝛ arming, and foꝛ contributions of money, and foꝛ all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be sene betwixt the Catholique, and the heretique. But in this case to withstand the threatened conquest, yea to defend the person of the Quene, there appeared such a sympathie, concourse, and consent of all sortes of persons, without respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all straungers, as it were with one hart and one body. And though some fewe principall Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you haue had the names in such Catalogues of Catholiques as you haue bene acquainted withall, were

An error of the
catholike fugi-
tives in the
number of their
partners in Eng-
land.

A consent and
concurrence
of Papists and
Protestants to
withstand the
conquest.

SENT TO DON BERNARDIN MENDOZA.

were lately vpon the report of the comming out of the Armie to the seas, sent to the Isle of Ely there to remaine restrayned of their former libertie during the expectation of this intended inuasion: yet it hath appeared, that they were not so restrayned for any doubt that they would with their powers haue assisted our army, but onely thereby to make it knowne to all our frendes and countrey men in Spaine, and Flanders, yea euen to your selfe (for so I heard it spoken, as accompting you to haue bene the most principal Autho^r and perswader of this action) that there should be no hope to haue any of them, or of their frendes, to assist these great armies. And in very truth, I see now whosoever of our frendes in Spaine, or in Flaunders, or elsewhere, made any such accompt of any ayde against the Quene, or against hir partie here, they should haue bene deceaued if the Army had offered to haue landed. For I my selfe haue heard that y^e best of those that were sent to Ely did make offers, yea by their letters to the Counsell here, signed with their handes, that they would aduecture their liues in defence of the Quene, whom they named their vndoubted Soueraigne Lady and Queene, against all foirein forces, though the same were sent from the Pope or by his commaundement: Yea diuers of them did offer that in this quarell of inuading of the realme with straungers they would present their own bodies in the foremost rankes with their countrey men against all straungers. Whereupon I heard also by a secret friend of mine in the Court, that it was once in some forwardnes of resolution amongst the Counsellers, that they should haue bene returned and put to their former libertie. But the heat of the warre being kindled with the knowledge of the kinges Armada, being at that tyme come to the Groigne, and the Duke of Parmas readines with so great an army and shipping in Flaunders, dayly looked for to land in England, yea to come to London, and a generall murmur of the people against all such Reculants of reputation, was the cause of the slaying of these Gentlemen at Ely, notwithstanding their offers of their service to the Quene: and so they do remain in the Bishops pallace there, with fruition of large walks about the same,

The gentlemen Reculants in Ely offer to aduecture their liues against all inuasions whatsoever, without respect of Pope or other potentate.

The Recusants
are not put in
danger of their
liues for their
religion, but are
fined at summes
of money.

altogether without any imprisonment, other then that they are not suffered to depart into the towne, or countrey: and yet for their religion, I thinke surely they do, and will, remaine constant to the obedience of the church of Rome: for the which neuertheless they are not impeached to any danger of their liues, but only charged with a penalty of money, because they will not come to the churches: whereby, by the law, a portion of their Reuenue is allotted to the Queene, and the rest left to the maintenance of them, their wiues, and children.

By which kind of proceedings our Aduersaries here do pretend, that both these Gentlemen, & all other of their qualities are fauorably vsed, that they are not pursued to death for their Religion, as they say it was vsed in Queene Maries time, and as it is dayly vsed (as they say) most rigorously and barbarously in Spaine against the Englishmen that come thether, onely in trade of marchandise. And yet I and others sometimes privately speaking with such our aduersaries, as we thinke are not maliciously bent to haue men prosecuted to death onely for their Religion (for to say the truth, and as the proverbe is, not to helpe the deuill, very many of our Contraries are in that point not vncharitable) we do obiect to them the executions by cruell torments, and deathes of very many, both here about London, and other partes of the realme, whom we accompt as Martirs, in that they do witnes by their death their obedience to the Pope, and the Catholique Church of Rome.

The Iesuits are
not executed
for religion but
for treasons.

The Semi-
naries for the
most part come
disguised like
Ruthians.

To which, these our Aduersaries, pretending some small drops of charity do answer vs: that no execution hath bene of any, to their knowledge, for their religion, or for profession thereof: but for that they which haue bene executed, haue bene found to haue wandred in the realme secretly, & in a disguised maner, which the Aduersaries scornfully terme as Ruthians, with feathers and all ornaments of light coloured apparel, like to the fashion of Courtiers, and do vse many meanes to entice all people, with whom they dare aduenture to speake, not onely to be reconciled to the Pope, & Church of Rome, but to induce them by bolwes and othes to renounce their obedience to the Queene: to deny hir to be their Soueraigne: & them selves

to be discharged of their Allegiance: and to repute all Magistrates vnder hir to be vnlawfull, and in conscience not to be obeyed: with many moe such matters (which I neuerthelesse count to be very vaine calumniationes) tending to make the factes of all such holy Priests as are sent with Commission to winne mens soules, to be direct treasons against the Quene, and the state of the Realme.

These Defenders of these iudgements and executions, contend, and doe most earnestly maintaine, that all such Priests, Jesuites, Seminaries and others, so perswading the people against the Quene, the Lawes, & the Government, and state of the Realm, & al others that are so perswaded by them, are manifest traitors: and so they say that their enditements, and all processe of law extended and pursued against them, doe manifestly declare the same. Wherein, these our Aduersaries doe sometimes for maintenance of their arguments, shew the verie copies of their enditements & iudgements, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their religion, but that they haue attempted to perswade the Queenes subiects to forsake their Allegiance, and consequently to be Rebels to their Queene and Soueraigne.

In this sort these men for their aduantage, do at all times, with these & many like earnest argumentes mayntaine their proceedings against the holy Priests & Jesuites, that haue suffered death for their conscience, as iust & necessary. And though, where I and others may reply without perill to our selues (as surely in some small companies we may, vsing modest words) we obiect the confession of the Catholike faith by the parties at their death, and that with great constancie, which our Aduersaries cannot denie, so as it may seeme they die for their religion: yet is it on the other part against vs alleaged, & maintained, that they are neither indited, condemned, nor executed for their religion, or for offering of themselves to die for their religion, but onely for their former treasons in conspiring against the Queene, and state of the Realme: no otherwise then of late time Babington and all his Complices, who were condemned for their attempt to haue raised warre in the

Babington suffered for his treasons voluntarily confessed, not for religion though at his death hee professed the Roman religion.

Realme, and to haue murdered the Queene, and to haue set by the Queene of Scots, all which the said Babington and all his complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, onely for those their great treasons: and yet diuers of them at the place of their execution, did in like maner (as these Priests and Iesuites vse to doe) make confession of their Catholike faith, with offer to dye for the same: and yet (say our aduersaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that Babington and his complices were put to death for religion, but for their treasons.

A multitude of gentlemen suspected to be Papists, yet neuer indaungered of their liues.

And for further maintenance of the coloured arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithfull, and Catholike brethren are often troubled how to answer them, it is alleged that the great number of gentlemen, & gentlewomen, yea some of honourable calling, and of other meaner degrees, are known manifestly to be of a contrary religion to the lawes of the Realme, both nere the court and farre of, and yet they are neuer pursued by any forme of law to put their liues in danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their opinions in religion, whereby to bring them in any danger. Onely such as are presented or complained of by the parishioners where they dwell, for neuer comming to any church by the space of certaine monethes in a whole yere, are thereof indited, and afterward being called to answer thereto, if they can shew no such lawfull excuse as the lawe hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a penaltie out of their goods and lands, if they haue any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet by inquisition any of them examined of their faith. But yet say these defenders, if they shew themselves by their open deedes and facts to be reconciled from their alleageance and obedience to the Queene, and that they will therein persist, then they are therewith charged and punished according to the lawes therof provided.

These arguments in their defence I doe not repeat as allowing of them, but yet surely they do moue me, & some others that are wise, to thinke, that indeed the rashnes of diuers comming secretly into the Realme, and professing themselves to be Priests,

Priestes, many of them being both very young, vnlearned, and of light behauiour, hath done great harme to the goodnes of our common cause: and if they and such others coulde haue temperately and secretly instructed the people, and vsed more circumspectiō in their own liuing and behauiour, there would haue been a greater increase of numbers perswaded in conscience to haue ioyned with vs in our profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lorde, that you may conferre with our countrimen, that haue accesse vnto you, and that they also may deale with the Fathers of the Iesuits, that more care and choice be had of such English men as are hereafter to bee sent into England, and not to send every young man that hath more boldnesse, then learning and temperance, for such a function.

Many of the Priests that are sent into the realm, are yong, rash, & of lewd life.

In the former part of this my declaration to you of the vniuersall concurrence of all men of value, wealth, & strength, in the body of the Realme, to serue and defend the Queen and the Realme, I forgot to report vnto you the great numbers of Ships of the subiects of the Realme: as of London and other port townes, and cities, that voluntarily this yeere were armed, able to make a full Paue of themselves for an armie, and all at the proper costs of the Barges, for certaine monethes, with men, victual, and munition, which did ioyne with the Queenes owne Paue all this Sommer, a thing neuer in any former age heard of, otherwise then that such ships were alwayes hired, waged, & victualed by the Kinges of the realm, which argued to the griefe of me and some others a most vehement & vnaccustomed affection & deuotiō in the cities and port townes, such, as they shewed themselves therein readie to fight, as it had been, *pro aris & focis*.

A great strength of the English Naue, by the Ships of the port townes that did serue without wages.

Of the number and strength of the Queenes owne ships of warre, I thinke you haue been sufficiently enfourmed many times heretofore, but yet I will make you a true report of the state of them this present Sommer, what I haue credibly heard thereof, because I haue bene very soze to heare howe you and others haue bene therein abused, and that not only in this matter of the Queenes ships, but in some other things al-

so of late, wherof some part hath bene here by very many, maliciously, and in common speeches, imputed to your owne invention and publication: wherof in a few words I wil make some digression befoze I shall shew the estate of the Queenes Maie.

Two notable lyes printed in Paris and imputed to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

In this Sommer past, there was printed in Paris, by your direction (as it was reported) a notable vntruth, which I did see, & reade: that the King of Scots had besiged Barwicke, & had won it by assault, & possessed it quietly: wherof no part was true, nor any cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so bene: but not for any good will y^e I now beare to that King, but for the trouble to this Quē. For in truth there is no good for vs to be hoped for from the King of Scots, howsoever the Scottish Bishops in France haue sought to make you belēue otherwise, who is so rooted in the Calvinists religion, as there is neuer hope that he can be recovered to the Church of Rome: and so I thinke you are of late duely enfourmed, and by his violent actions against diuers Catholikes, and against all that fauour the Spaniards, may certainly appeare.

A most manifest lie printed in Paris, of a Spanish victory when it was altogether an English victory.

Mendacia of Mendoza.

And likewise another great vntruth was lately printed (as your enemies say) by your direction also in Paris, that now in July last, when the Spanish fleet and English had met and fought betwixt France and England, the Spaniards had then a great victory, wherein they had sunke the Lord Admirall of England, with nineteene of the Queenes great ships into the bottome of the Seas, and that all the rest were drinen to flie with the Vice Admirall Frances Drake. Upon these two so notable vntruthes, which the Adversaries spitefully called Don Bernardin Medozas mendacia, many who honour you, were right soze, that you should giue so hastie credite, to publish the same (as your enemies say) you did: though I haue to my power for clearing of your honour giuen it out, that these and such like haue proceeded of the lightnes of the French, who commonly print more lies then truths, in such doubtful times, and not of you, whose honour and wisdom I thought would not be iustly touched with so great vntruthes and lies: considering alwaies, a small time will discover things that are in fact

facts reported vntuly, and bringeth the Authours to discredit and infamie. There hath bene a speech also reported here, to haue proceeded from you in France, that hath caused a great misliking of you in Scotland: which is, that you should in open assembly, and in a brauery say, that the young King of Scots (whom you called in your language a boy) had deceiued the K. your master: but if the Kings Spanie might prosper against England, the King of Scots should loose his Crowne: and of this the King of Scots hath bene aduertised out of Fraunce, and bleth very euill language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leaue this digression, and to returne to let you know the truth of the state of **Queenes Spanie** this Sommer. The same was in the beginning of the yere, when the bryte was brought of the rebines of the Kings Armada in Lisbone, and of the Armie by land vpo the Sea coasts in Flanders with their shipping, deuised into thre companies: the greatest vnder the charge of **Charles L. Haward** high Admirall of England, whose father, grandfather, vncles, great vncles, and other of his house, being of the noble house of the Dukes of Norfolke, had also bene high Admirals afoze him, whereof both France and Scotland haue had proue.

The state of the
Naue of Eng-
land this Som-
mer.

L. Haward, L.
Admirall.

Another company were appointed to remaine with the **L. Henry Seymour** second sonne to the Duke of Somerset that was Protector in King Edwards time, & brother to the now Earle of Hartford: and these companies for a time continued in the narrow seas betwixt England and Flaunders, vnder the charge of the said high Admirall, to attend on the Duke of Parmas Actions.

L. Henry Sey-
mour.

A third company were armed in the West part of England towards Spaine, vnder the conduct of **Sir Francis Drake**: a man by name & fame knowen too well to all Spaine, and to the Kinges Indias, and of great reputation in England: and this was compounded, partly of some of the **Queenes** owne shippes, and partly of the ships of the West parts.

Sir Francis
Drake.

But after that it was certainly vnderstood, that the great Spanie of Spaine was readie to come out from Lisbone, and

that the same thereof was blowen abroad in Chriſtendome to be invincible, and ſo publiſhed by booke in print, the Queene and all her Counſell I am ſure (whatſoever god countenance they made) were not a little perplered, as looking certainly for a dangerous fight upon the Seas, and after that for a landing and inuaſion. Whereupon the Lord Admirall was commaunded to ſaile with the greateſt ſhips, to the Weſt of England towards Spaine to ioyne with Drake, whom hee made Viceadmirall, and to continue in the Seas betwixt France and England, to ſtoppe the landing of the Spanie of Spaine. And with the Lord Admirall went in certaine of the Queenes ſhips, the Lord Thomas Haward ſecond ſonne to the laſt Duke of Norfolke, and the Lord Sheffield, ſonne to the Admirals ſiſter, who is wiſe to the Queenes Ambaſſadour in France, with a great number of Knights of great luelode: And at that time the Lord Henry Seymour was left with a good number of ſhips in the narrow Seas, upon the coaſt of Flaunders to attend on the Duke of Parma.

Whileſt theſe two Spanies were thus divided, I confeſſe to you that I & others of our part, ſecretely made a full accompt, that none of all theſe Engliſh ſhips durſt abide the ſight of the Armada of Spaine: or if they would abide any ſight, yet they ſhould all be ſonke at the firſt encounter. For ſuch conſtant opinion we had conceived by the reports of the world, that the greatnes and number of the ſhips, and the army of Spain, being the choſen veſſels of all the Kings Dominions, was ſo exceſſive monſtrous, beyond all the Spanies that ever had bene ſene in Chriſtendome (not excepting the Armada at Lepanto) that no power could abide in their way. But how farre deceived we were therein, a very ſhort time, even the firſt day, did manifeſtly, to the great diſhonour of Spaine, diſcover. For when the Catholique armie came to the coaſt of England, which in deede the Engliſh confeſſe did ſeeme farre greater then they looked for, and that they were aſtonied with the ſight of them: yet the Lord Admiral & Drake, hauing but only fifty of the Engliſh ſhips out of the Haven of Plimmouth, where the reſt remained for a new reſtialing, without tarying for
the

L. Tho Haward
L. Sheffield.

The fight of
the Engliſh
Nauie with the
Spaniſh.

SENT TO DON BERNARDIN MENDOZA. 77

the rest of the *Paute* that was in Plimmouth, they did offer present fight, & furiously pursued the whole *Paute* of Spaine, being about 160. ships: so as the same, with the furious and continuall shot of the English one whole day, fled without any returning. And after, the English *Paue* being encreased to an hundred great and smal, renewed their fight with terrible great shot all the whole day, gaining alwaies the wind of the Spanish *Paue*. And as I am sorry to remember the particularities, whith the English haue largely written to their owne praise: so to speake all in one word, for nine dayes together, they still forced them to die, and destroyed, sonke, and tooke in three daies fight, diuers of the greatest shippes: out of which, specially out of the principall great ship of Andaluzia, and out of the Admiranta of Guipusque, and thirdly out of the principall great Galliasse of Naples great numbers were brought (beside many moe killed and drowned) to London, and to sundry other portes of the Realme, to the great dishonour of Spaine: amongst which prisoners were a great number of Captaines both for land & sea. And besides that, which deeply blemisheth the honour of Spaine, and vereth me at my heart, to consider the inequalitye of fortune, it is vaunted by our Adversaries, that in all the time of these fights so many daies, the Spaniards did neuer take, or sink, any English ship or boate, or breake any mast, or tooke any one man prisoner. A matter that in deede these Spaniards which are taken doe maruaile at greatly, and chafe thereat: so as some of them in their anguish of minde let not to say, that in all these fights Christ shewed himselfe a Lutheran.

The flying away of the Spanish Naue.

The Spaniards prisoners say, that Christ shewed himselfe a Lutheran in this Sommer voiage of the Spanish Naue.

And though such speeches be vnadvised, and not to be regarded: yet surely it is most manifest, that in all this voiage from the comming of the *Paute* out of Lisbon even to this houre, God did shew no fauour to ours any one day, as he did continually to these Lutherans: which, percase, may be done for our good, to correct vs, as putting our trust wholly in our worldly strength, & to the confusion hereafter of the Lutherans, by putting them by, being his enemies, with prosperitie for a time, to be after wardes the cause of their ruine. And amongst other

God shewed no fauour to the Spanish Naue fro the beginning to the ending.

Don Pedro de Valdez, Cap-
taine General
of the Armada
of Andalusia.

Hugo de Mon-
cada, General
of the Gallias
of Naples.

Diego de Pi-
mentelli Cap-
taine of the
Gallees named
S. Mathew.

things reported to the dishonour of the Duke of Medina, who, it is said, was lodged in the bottome of his ship for his safetie, and to a great touch to the Commanders of the Spanish Flaue, that they neuer would turne their shippes, nor stay them, to defend any of their owne shippes, that were forced to tary behind, but suffred diuers to perish: as are good witnesses ther- of the three great vessels. One wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was taken: another Gallion of Guipusque that was spoiled with fire: & the noble Galliasse wherein Hugo de Moncada was slaine: of which lack of care by the Duke of Medina, these Spaniards that are taken geue very euill report. The like is said in Zeland by the Spaniards there, that were saued with Diego de Pimentelli, though the Gallion wherein he was, being beaten with the English shot, and not succoured by the Flaue of Spaine, did there perish in their comming to Flushing, and so also did another likewise perish for lacke of succour before Ostend.

And now I must needs thinke that you are stricken with some griefe of mind, or rather with some anger towards me, to heare from me so much of those aduersé things, although they are to true: and therefore I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better contentation, to vnderstand what opinions we that are here haue, being thus frustrate of our expected deliuerie, by the defeat of this enterprize: whether we do comfort our selues with a conceit that this Action may be, by any probabilitie, once againe renewed this next yeere, for the recouerie of our lost hope this yeere, famously spoken of by the number of 88. and so verified to the losse of all Catholiques. Wherein surely for our owne partes, as by secret conference I finde with many with whom I haue secretly of late vpon this vnfortunat accident conferred, we cannot iudge of any likelihood of good successe for any long time: and if there should any be hoped for, surely the sea-forces of the King Catholique, must of necessitie be moze increased, and better also governed then they were this yeere. For this we here do consider that this enterprize of Inuasion & Conquest, was alwaies principally grounded vpon many probable opinions of the euill state
of

A Consideration
what may be
done the next
yeare to renew
this Action.

of the Realme.

First, of the weaknes of the English nanie: for so you know you were diuers waies this last yeare aduertised from hence, and so also many of vs here did conceine the same: wherein we see by all this yeares serulce with these ships, we did all notably erre.

1
The 3 . hopes
conceined a-
gainst Englad,
are now all
frustrated.

Next, of a supposed euill contentement of a number of people in this land to serue the Queene, and her Gouvernement, against her enemies.

Lastly, and most principally, of a great strong partie that would be found here in the fauour of vs for the Catholique Religion, that should take armes against the Queene vpo the first sight of the Catholique Navy on the coasts of England. Of all which opinions, settled in good mens minds in maner of iudgements, we know that none in the world did moze constantly assure the King thereof then you: which, as the matters haue euill succeeded, may, I feare, bring you in danger of his indignation, although I know you meant very well therein.

And as these three opinions haue all fayled this yeere, so I assure you, though some of ours on that side y seas may persist in their former opinions against the experience lately sene (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to mainteine them selues in credit, for continuing their necessarie relief from the Pope, and the King, hauing no other meanes to keepe them from steruing or begging) yet because I would not haue you further deceaued by them, who haue not bene present in the Realme to see such contrary proofes against all their conceits, as I and others haue done: I will shewe you a great number of manifest Arguments, though I am sorry at my hart to remember them, whereby you in your wisdom (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certaine, that these former opinions, for comfort to be had from hence, will proue the next yeare as strong against vs, and in some part moze strong then they proued this yeare, if any accompt should be made thereof.

First, for the Spanie of Englad, which hath this yeare to the sight of the world proued to be of great force & value, for those seas, and able to overmatch in their maner of fight, double to

The Englishe
Naue will be
stronger the
next yeare.

Offer of Hol-
landers and Ze-
landers, to ioyne
with the Eng-
lish Naue.

Iustinian Nas-
sau Admirall of
Holland with
46. ships of war
ioyned to the
English Naue,
against the D.
of Parma.

Argumentes to
proue no mis-
contentement
of the people
towards the
Queene.

their number, of the great Gallions, Carikes, Galliaffes, or Gal-
lies, it is certaine that it will be greatly increased this next
yeare. For I know, that within these few dayes, bargaines
are already made, and Imprest of money deliuered, and cer-
taine sent into the Estlands, for great stoze of all maritime pro-
uisions. And as for the increase of the number of good shippes
for the Queenes proper vse, there is already a great quantitie
of timber ready, and order giuen to sell moze in Nouember,
and December next, in the countries neare both to the sea,
and to Thames, to build a number of shippes of warre, equall
to these whose seruice was seene this yeare to haue ouermat-
ched the great Armadas and Castels of Spaine and Italy. And
furthermoze, to ioyne with the Naue of England this yeare
following, not onely the Hollanders and Zelanders, but also
ships of Denmarke, and others partes of Estland, will certainly
be had in great numbers, whereof there was none at all requi-
red this yeare past to ioyne with the Naue of England. One-
ly certain Hollanders, and Zelanders offered their seruice (accoz-
ding as they are bound) in the end of this sommer, since the co-
nflict neare Callice, to ioyne with some of the English Naue in
the narrow seas, to defend the issuing of the Duke of Parma
out of the portes of Flaunders: and in that seruice at this time
there are aboue ffortie and fixe good shippes of warre, with the
Viceadmirall Iustinian of Nassau: a man that agreeth too well
with the English Nation, and is a sworn enemy to all Spa-
niards, & Catholiques: and as it is reported for certaine, there
are lx. moze comming out of North-Holland to the seas, for the
same purpose: so as it is to be doubted, that this Realme, this
next yeare, will be double as strong as it was this last yeare.

As to the second branch of our hope, depending vpon opinion
of some great discontentment of sundry persons against the
Queene, & p[ro]ofe of the contrary so appeared this yeare, both
of her actions to mainteine the liking of all her people, & of the
generall earnest deuotion shewed to her by all estates, Noble
& meane, rich & poore, as I thinke no Prince Christened euer
had greater cause of comfort in her people: which I may iudge
to breed a pride in her. And to recompence the same she did
most

most notably shew her selfe in this time, euen when most danger was thzatened, in all her actions towards her people, as carefull for their weale, and for the safetie of her Realme, without any speciall or particular prouision, or regard to her owne person, as euer any Prince could doe. First, to let her people vnderstand what care shee had to make her Realme strong against Inuasion, she politiksly, yea most carefully, by her owne frequent directions, caused her whole Realme to be put in armes, she tooke accompt thereof her selfe by monethly Certificat from such as were made her Lieutenants in euery Shire of her Realme, she caused Armour, Powder, Weapon, to be sent to all Countries, & Ordinance to all Maritime Countries: There were also sundry Armies described, to defend euery coast of the Sea: and as I heard it repozted by some that did know the secrets of the Court, was importunate with her Counsell to leaue no day vnoccupied, to bring these seruices to effect: and yet she did still continue her Commissioners in the Low Countries to treat of peace, which surely she desired to haue obtained, so that she might haue had the same with certaine conditions. So as to content her people, she did both treat & desire peace, and did not in the meane time neglect to make her Realme strong for defence, if peace could not be gotten. But in the end, when her demaunds were wholly refused (whereof we and all Catholiques were most glad) and that she vnderstood very certainly, that the armie of the Duke of Parma should come first to destroy the Citie of London. she reuoked her Commissioners, approached London in person, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbs of the same: whereby they of the Citie tooke great comfort, hauing daily in shew and muster of their owne ten thousand men armed & trained of very able men of the Citie, and in readines thirtie thousand more, able to fight.

She caused also an Armie to be brought to incampe neere the Sea side, vpon the River of Thames, betwixt the Sea and the Citie, twenty miles beneath the Citie: and after the Army was come thither, she would not by any aduise be staied, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her owne magnanimity

The prouidence
of the Queene
to make her
realme strong.

The Queener
being in the
Army in Essex,
when moste
daunger was
threatened by
the enemies
landing.

of heart (as she said, she would so do though she was a woman) she went to that Armie lying betwixt the Citie and the Sea, vnder the charge of the Earle of Leicester, placing her selfe betwixt the enemye and her Citie, and there viewed her Armie, and passed through it diuers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned againe, and dined in the Armie: And first, saw the people as they were, by their Countries, lodged and quartered in their severall camps, which she viewed from place to place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into battailes, readie, as it were, to fight with any enemye; she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied onely but with the Generall, and three or foure others attending on her: But yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword caried before her by the Earle of Ormond.

Where she was generally saluted with cries, with shoutes, with all tokens of loue, of obedience, of readinesse and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath bene sene in a Campe and Armie, considering she was a Quene: and all tended to shew a maruelous cōcord, in a mutual loue, betwixt a Quene and her subiects: and of reuerence, and obedience of subiects to a Soueraigne: all which she acquitted with very princely thanks, and good speeches. I could enlarge this description with many moe particularities of mine owne sight, for thither I went, as many others did: and all that day, wandering from place to place, I neuer heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person, and princely behaviour: and in praying for her life and safetie, and cursing of all her enemies, both Traitors, and all Papists, with earnest desire to venter their liues for her safetie.

And besides such particular Acclamations, the whole Army in euery quarter, did deuoutely at certaine times sing in her hearing, in very tunable maner, diuers Psalmes put into forme of Prayers in praise of almighty God, no waies to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any comfort, but to geue you these manifest

The notable Applause of the people, to the Queene for her presence in the Camp.

The singing of Psalmes by the English Army, in the Camp.

self Argumentes, that neither this Quene doth discontent her people, nor her people do shewe any discontentation in any thing that they be commaunded to do for her seruice, as heretofore hath bene imagined. She had also an Armie of about fortie thousand footemen, and of six thousand horsemen, under the charge of the Lord Hunsdon Lord Chamberlein, as Lieutenant of that Army, made ready from the Inland partes of the Realme, to be about her owne person, without disarming the maritime Counties: so as many marched out of sondry Countries towards her, at the very time that she was in the Camp: some came to the Suburbes and Townes neere London, whom she remaunded to their Countries, because their Haruest was at hand, and many of them woulde not be countermaunded, but still approached onward on their owne charges (as they said) to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the Realme. But though the greatest number of the said souldiours were compelled to returne, yet the Captains, Leaders, & the principal Knights & Gentlemen came to the Court to offer their seruice: & those were graciously accepted of her with many thanks, and are now for the moze part returned with a full determinacion, & firme promise, to continue their Bands in such rebines, as vpon a few houres warning they will assuredly returne with them in good array.

Beside these foresaid Argumentes to disproue the opinion of discontentement of the people, which heretofore hath bene thought a great furtherance to this honorable action, I will also remember you some other moze notable Actions, to proue both contentacion, and readines, in all the Nobilitie of the Realm at this time, that were not tyed to abide in their countries by reason of their offices, as Lieutenantes and Gouernours there for Partiall seruices. For as soon as it was heard that the Quene was come nere London, and that the Armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all Inuasions, and reportes brought from the sea coasts of the apparance of the Spanish Ranie: all the Noble men in the Realme, from East and West, from North and South, excepting onely such great Lordes as had speciall Gouernementes

An Army provided for the Quene, beside the Army ready to withstand the landing of the enemy.

Great power of Horsemen brought by the Nobilitie to attend on the Quenes person.

in Countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the Quene, bringing with the according to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their powers, goodly Bandes of horsemen, both Launces, light horsemen, and such other as are termed Carabins or Arceletiers, lodging their Bandes round about London, and maintaining them in pay at their owne charges all the time, untill the Paule of Spaine was certainly knowen to be passed beyond Scotland. And of these Noble men many shewed their Bandes of their horsemen, before the Quene even in the fields afoze her owne gate, to the great marueile of men of good iudgement (as I heard reported) for that the number of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no parcel of the numbers of horsemen limited in every Countrey, & put into Bandes with the Armies described, it was thought, before they were seene, that there had not bene so many spare horses of such valour in the whole Realme, excepting y North part of England towarde Scotland, whose forces consist chiefly of horsemen.

The Viscount Mountague shew of horsemen was the first.

The first that shewed his Bandes to the Quene, was that Noble, vertuous, honorable man, the Viscount Mountague, who, howsoever men do iudge of him for opinion in Religion, yet, to tell you the truth, he is reported alwaies to haue professed, as now also at this time he did profess and protest solemnely, both to the Quene, and to all her Court, in open Assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly, and in age, with a full resolution to live and dye in defence of the Quene, and of his countrey, against all Inuaders, whether it were Pope, King or Potentate whatsoener, and in that quarrell he would hazard his life, his children, his landes and goods. And to shew his mynde agreably thereto, he came personally him selfe before the Quene, with his Band of horsemen being almost two hundred: the same being led by his owne sonnes, and with them a yong child, very comely seated on horseback, being the heire of his house, that is, y eldest sonne to his sonne and heire: a matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend

mend the same: to see a grandfather, father, and sonne, at one time on horsebacke afoze a Quene for her service, though in truth I was sozry to see our Adversaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceale it from your Lordships knowledge, because I thinke this Noble man is known unto you, having bene vbled as an Ambassadeur to the R Catholique, many yeares past by this Quene (as I have heard) to require confirmation of the treaties of amitie, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Noble mans conditions, I thinke there be some others, of whom there is no accompt to be made that they will geue favour to any attempt against the Quene, or to any Inuasion of the Realme.

There were also many at the same time that made shewes of great numbers of serviceable hozles, whereof though it be no comfort to you to heare, yet it is good that you be not abused for lacke of knowledge, how the present state is here: that you may better iudge hereafter what may be done to recover this late losse and dishonour. At this time the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord Windefore, with some Knights and Gentlemen with them shewed their Bandes, as the Lord Mountague had done: and after them, the Lord Chancelour shewed goodly Bandes of hozlemen and footemen at his owne house, very many and strong. And within one or two dayes after, the Earle of Warwicke, the Lord Burghley Lord Treasorer, the Lord Compton, and in the end of the day the Earle of Leycester, and the Lord Rich, besides sondry Knightes of the Realme, shewed every of the severall strong Bands of hozlemen, to the great liking of the Quene, and of all the people that were there, being many thousands. And within two daies after that, the Earle of Essex being Maister of the Quenes hozse, with certeine principall Gentlemen his servants, friends and followers, shewed afoze the Quene above three hundred hozles of all service, & a great number of Carabins, and a faire Band of footemen all Muskettiers.

This shewe exceeded in number any other particular Band, and the Earle him selfe with a great number of Launces hozsed and armed, did run very many Courses, & specially with

A number of great Lordes shewed their horsemen.

Earle of Lincolne.
Lord Windefore,
Lord Chancelour.

Earle of Warwicke.
Lord Treasorer
Lord Compton,
Earle of Leycester.
Lord Rich.
Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir Hery Cromwell.
Sir Ioh. Points.
Earle of Essex with a greates Band of horsemen and footemen afore the Quene at St. James.

Course at the
field.

Tourney.

the Earle of Cumberland (as they cal it) the Course of the field, which I had neuer scene befoze: and did also him selfe, and his company Tourney on horsebacke a very long time, and caused also his Carabines, and his footemen to make many skirmishes there, to the great liking of the Quene, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousandes. Amongst whom I heard many vehemēt speeches against all English Papists, calling them all Traitors, wishing also that the Spaniards, had bene there in that field with treble the number, to make proof of the value of English men: all which I heard to my great grief, with many curses against all their countrymen, saying, that they as arrant Traitors to their native countrie, had villainously sold, as farre as in them did lye, the libertie of their country to Spaniards, and other Papistes. It behoued me not there to haue contraried any of them, for surely if I had, their rancour was so stirred vp, by the comfort of these faire shewes of horsemen, as they would there in the field in their rage haue killed me, and cut me in a thousand peeces.

Earle of Worcester.

Earle of Hertford.

Lord Audeley.

L. Morley.

L. Dacres.

L. Lomeley.

L. Mountioy.

L. Sturton.

L. Darcie.

L. Sandes.

L. Mordant.

Besides these Lords aboue named, there were brought to the towne, other faire Bandes by the Earle of Worcester, the Earle of Hertford, the Lord Audeley, Lord Morley, Lord Dacres, Lord Lomeley, Lord Mountioy, Lord Sturton, Lord Darcy, Lord Sandes, Lord Mordant, and by euery one that were of the priuie Counsell: so as by estimation, there were about London at that time, aboue five thousand horses readie to serue the Quene, besides all the horsemen that were raised in all other Countries for the Armies, and the Sea coasts. And besides these, I heard in a very good place, where I was silent, that there was by accompt twice as many in readines, with the Noble men that were absent, attending on their charges in their severall Lieutenancies. As the Marques of Winchester, one counted to be the strongest man of his owne furniture for Horse & Armour, who is Lieutenant of Hampshire, with the Earle of Sussex Captaine of Portesmouth, and Lieutenant also of Dorsetshire. Pert to him is in accompt the Earle of Shrovsbury Earle Marshal of England, Lieutenant of a great number of Countries, and of great power

Marques of
Winchester.

Earle of Sussex.

Earle of Shrovsbury.

power

wer of his owne, both for horsemen and footemen, beside the power of \S Lord Talbot his sonne. The Earle of Darby also, though he was in Flaunders, from whence he came lately, yet his sonne the Lord Strange, Lieutenaunt of Lancashire and Cheshire in his fathers absence, is said to haue raised a great power of horsemen. And to shew the populer affection to this Earle in his Countrey, I heard it for certaine reported, that when the Earle continued longer in Flanders then they liked, and doubting of his returne, so that they supposed that the Duke of Parma would stay him, and the other Commissioners there, the people of his Countrey in a generalitie did amongst themselves determine, that the Lord Strange the Earls sonne, and all the manhood of Lancashire and Cheshire would goe ouer the Seas and fetch the Earle home. A matter for no purpose to be spoken of, but to note the force of the loue which the people doe beare to the Earle, who with his sonne is firmly bent against the Pope.

L. Talbot.
Earle of Darby
L. Strange.

The Earle of Bath also Lieutenant of Deuonshire, had as is said, great forces of his owne readie to haue impeached the landing of any strangers in Deuonshire. The Earle of Pembroke also being Lieutenant of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and Lord President of all Wales, was readie to haue come to the Quene with three hundred horsemen, and five hundred footmen all of his owne retinue, leaving all the Countries vnder his charge fully furnished.

Earle of Bath.

Earle of Pembroke's noble offer.

I omit here to speake of the Bands of horsemen, belonging to the Earles of Northumberland and Cumberland, which though they were ready to haue bene shewed at the same time: yet \S Earles hearing of the Spanish Armie approaching, went voluntarily to the Sea side in all hast, and came to the Quenes Hauie before the fight afoze Callice. Where they being in seuerall ships of the Quenes, did with their owne persons valiant seruices against the Kings Armada. And to shew the great readines in a generalitie of sundrie others at the same time, to aduenture their liues in the said seruice, there went to the Seas at the same time diuers Gentlemen of good reputation, who voluntarily without any charge, & with

Earle of Northumberland.
Earle of Cumberland.

Master Henry
Brooke.
Sir Tho. Cecil.
Sir Wil. Hutton

Sir Horatio
Pallavicino.
M. Robert Carie.
Sir Charles
Blunt.
M. Thomas
Gerard.
M. Wil. Henry.

Earle of Ox-
ford.

M. Robert
Cecil.
L. Dudley.
Sir Walter
Raleigh.

M. William
Cecill.
M. Edward
Darcy.
M. Arthure.
Gorge.

Earle of Hun-
tington.

out knowledge of the Queen, put themselves into the Queenes
Naue in sundry ships, wherein they serued at the sight afoze
Callice: of which number being very great, I remember that
the names of some of them were these: Master Henry Brooke
sonne and heire to the Lord Cobham Sir Thomas Cecil sonne
and heire to the Lord Treasurer, Sir William Hutton heire to
the Lord Chancellour, Sir Horatio Pallavicino a knight of
Genoa, Master Robert Carie sonne to the Lord Hunsdon,
Sir Charles Blunt, brother to y^e Lord Mountioy. But much
speech is of two Gentlemen of y^e Court that went to the Naue
at the same time, whose names are Thomas Gerard and Wil-
liam Heruie, to me not knowen, but now here about London
spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of
ship boate, to scale the great Galliasse wherein Moncada was,
and entred the same only with their Rapiers: a matter com-
monlie spoken, that neuer the like was hazarded afoze, con-
sidering the height of the Galliasse compared to a ship boate.

And yet to make it moze manifest, how earnest all sortes
of Noble men, and Gentlemen, were to adventure their lines
in this seruice, it is reported, that the Earle of Oxford, who is
one of the most auncient Earles of this land, went also to the
Sea, to serue in the Queenes Armie. There went also for the
same purpose, a second sonne of the Lord Treasurer, called as I
can remeber, Robert Cecil: there went also about that time to
the Seas, the Lord Dudley an auncient Baron of the Realme,
and Sir Walter Raleigh a Gentleman of the Queenes priuy
Chamber, and in his company a great number of young Gen-
tlemen, amongst whom I remember the names of the heire of
Sir Thomas Cecil, called William Cecil, of Edward Darcy,
Arthure Gorge, and such others: with the rehearsall of whom
I doe not comfort my selfe, but only to shew you, how farre
we haue bene deceined, to thinke that wee should haue had a
partie here for vs, when as you see both by lande and by Sea,
all sortes of men were so readie of their owne charges, with-
out either commandement, or entertainement, to aduen-
ture their lines in defence of the Queene and the Realme.

And for the Earle of Huntingtons forces, being Lieutenant
Gene.

Generall in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in readines for an Armie in Yorkshire, and other Countries commonly limited to serve against Scotland, to the number of foztie thousand well armed footemen, and neare hand tenne thousand hozsemen, to come to him if any occasion of Inuasion should be in the North partes: to whom are ioyned with their forces thre Lordes in the North, the Lord Scroop, Lord Darcy, and Lord Euers.

L. Scroope.
L. Darcy.
L. Euers.

There are also diuers other Lordes that are Lieutenantes of Countries; that haue in readines of their proper charges good numbers of hozsemen. As the Earle of Kent, Lieutenant of Bedfordshire: the L. Hunsdon Lord Chamberleine, Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk: the Lord Cobham Lieutenant of Kent: the Lord Gray of Buckinghamshire: the Lord North of Cambridgeshire: Lord Chandos of Gloucestershire: Lord S. Iohn of Huntingtongshire: Lord Buckhurst of Suffex: and so by this particuler recitall not vnnecessary for your knowledge, it is to be noted what disposition the Nobilitie of the Realme had at this time to haue withstood all Inuasion. And if percase you shall peruse your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lordes of the Realme, you shall finde that these are the substance of all the great Lordes, sauing thre yong Charles within age, Rutland, Southhampton, and Bedford: all thre brought vp in peruerse Religiō. And so remaineth to be spoken of, the Earle of Arundell, who is in the Tower for attempting to haue fled out of the Realme by prouocation of him, that now is Cardinall Allen: who, howsoeuer he may be affected to the Catholique Religiō, yet I heare most certainly that he offereth his life in defence of the Quene against all the world.

Earle of Kent.

L. Hunsdon.
L. Cobham.
L. Graye.
L. North.
L. Chandos.
L. Saint Iohn.
L. Buckhurst.

Earle of Rutland.

Earle of Southhampton.

Earle of Bedford.

And where accompt was made to haue a partie in this Realme, which by these former relations appeare could not be possible, the whole Nobilitie being assured to the Quene, and the force of the people not violently bent that way: In this very time: was offered to the Quene as great a partie for her, to come to her seruice, and defence of the Realme, as out of all Christendome, she could not haue to all respects a stronger. Which was the King of Scottes, who hea-

Offer of the K.
of Scots to the
Queen of Eng-
land.

Bands of Horf-
men and foot-
men erected by
the Bifhops.

The third and
laft hope which
the Catholikes
had of a partie
in the Realme
was all frustrat.

The Spanifhe
prifoners con-
demne the K.
purpose, as be-
ing abused, by
the exiled Ca-
tholikes, who
the Spaniards
call traitours
to their coun-
trei.

ring of the intended Inuafion of the Realme, sent a Gentle-
man to the Quene, with his letter, as I credibly heard, to offer
her all the power that he had to defend her & her Realme: and
and if ſhe ſo would, he would come in his owne perſon, and
hazard his owne life, to defend this Realme againſt all Inua-
ders for Religion, or any other pretence whatſoeuer. So by
this you may ſee, what accompt may be made of any vaine
promiſes, made in the name of this King. And becauſe you
ſhall perceiue that I haue good meanes to haue intelligence of
any other forces of the Realme for defence thereof, it is moſt
certein as I heare, & I haue ſene a Liſt or Rol of a great num-
ber both of horſemen and footemen, which the Biſhops of the
Realme haue of their owne charges, with the contribution of
the Clergie raiſed vp in Bandes of horſemen & footemen, which
are to be led by Noble Gentlemen at the Quenes nomination:
and theſe Bandes muſt be vainely termed *Milites Sacri*.

As to the laſt point of the three foundations of the principall
hope conceiued, whereupon the Inuafion was chiefly ground-
ed and taken in hand, which was moſt certainly and gene-
rally beleued, that there ſhould be found here in the Realm a
ſtrong partie of Catholiques, againſt the Quene to ioyne and
aſſiſt the Inuaders, vpon the appearing of the Spaniſh Panie.
By my former relations of the generall, great & ſeruent loue
of the people towardeſ the Quene, and of the great offers of
ſeruiſe now made by the whole Nobilitie of the Realme, this
their foundation may appeare to haue bene wrong laied, one-
ly by imaginations, as it were vpon a quick ſand, or rather as
flying in the aire. And yet it appeareth very truly that no
ſmall accompt was made hereof by the King of Spaine, and
by his principall Miniſters: for there is nothing at this pre-
ſent moze vniuerſally, with one lamentable voyce ſpoken of,
by all the multitude of the Spaniards, now here priſoners,
yea by the cheifeſt of them, then that they now evidently ſee,
that the King their Maſter was with ſuch informations great-
ly abused, yea rather betrayed: for they ſay there was no man
of value in all this Armie, but he heard it conſtantly affirmed,
and ſo deliuered for comfort of all that ſerued therein, beſore
they

they were shipped, that they should not be afrayed of any resistance to land in England, for that there was good assurance given to the King, that they should finde a strong Armie of Catholiques ready in their saucour, as soon as ever their Shalle should be sene upon the Sea coast, & so they all here say they were encouraged to come to this iourney: otherwise, many of them sweare they would neuer haue come on shipboard: so unlikely, they say, it was and against all reason, to Inuade a Realme, with opinion to conquere it, without both some title of right, and a partie also: but specially without a good sure partie.

No possibilitie to Inuade and conquer a realme, without fauour of a partie inward.

And therefore now finding this report very false, many of these prisoners do by name curse you, as being the Kinges Ambassadour: as him, they say, who vpon the opinion of the knowledge which you had gotten in England, was there, in more credited then any other, and had these many yeares together tempted the King their Maister, vpon hope, and other such like perswasions, to attempt such a matter as this was: being vtterly in all wisdom to haue bene condemned, without some certaintie of this latter part, specially to haue had a strong partie here. They also curse all such Englishmen, as haue fled out of this Countrie, whom they spare not to call arrant Traitors, for offering the sale of their Countrie to the Pope and the King of Spaine. And these prisoners adde also, that they were bozne in hand, that this Countrie was so open to march in, and so weake to withstand any force, and the people so miserable, as they thought the Conquest thereof had bene of no more difficultie then the ouercomming of a number of naked Indians was at the beginning of the Conquest there, of by King Ferdinand.

The Spanishe prisoners condemne the enterprise and course of Don Bernardin of Mendoza.

And now for strength of this countrie and people: many of these prisoners hauing bene brought from the Sea coastes hether to London, whereby they haue obserued the countrie and the people, doe speake maruelously thereof, counting the same invincible, otherwise then by treason of some great partie within the Realme. But whether all these speeches which are commonly reported of them procede from their hartes, or that

Sir Francis Englefield.
Lord Paget.

Earle of Westmerland.

Thomas Stukeleyes abusing
of the King of Spaine and the
Pope, newly remembered by the
Spaniards.

they speake thus to please the English, because they are well
vsed by them, who also are easily deceived with flattery, I
know not: but sure I am they do thus speake dayly, with out-
ward shewe of great passions against such as haue bene per-
suaders to the King of this iourney. Diuers of them also
which are of good indgement, and haue heard of such of the En-
glish banished me as haue bene in Spaine, and haue knowen
some of them there (as of long time, Sir Francis Englefield,
and of late, & Lord Paget & his brother) haue curiously inqui-
red, of what power they were & credit here, to haue a partie.
They also inquired of the Earle of Westmerland: although of
him they confesse he is a man but of smal gouernment. But our
Aduersaries here haue so abased these & all & rest, to haue bene
of no credit to carry any numbers of men but by the Quenes
authoritie, wher they were at their best: as the prisoners won-
der how the King could be so deceived to geue them pensions,
otherwise then for charitie, because of their religion. But they
confesse they haue often heard in Spaine, how the King was
once notably deceived, when one Thomas Stukeley a priuat
Englishman, who fled out of Ireland for debt and other lewd
Actions into Spaine, not being worth one penny, his debts
being paid, & but & second sonne of a meane Gentleman, pre-
tended, and was beleued in Spaine (by so intitling of him
selfe) to be a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earle of Ireland, and so
was a long time entertained, as a man that could do great ser-
uice against the Quene of Englad: untill at length & King vn-
derstood his falshood, and banished him out of Spaine. And after
repairing to Rome, was by the Pope also mainteyned for
a time, until he was discovered eny by some good Catholiques,
that could not endure the Popes holines to be so grossely mas-
ked: of whom some of the prisoners vsing merry speeches, how
both the Emperour Charles, and afterward this King, and the
Pope, were so notably deceived by this Stukeley, doe conclude
merely, that they thinke some of these English that haue thus
abused the King, haue followed Stukeleys steppes. And in ve-
ry truth, I and many others haue bene very often ashamed to
heare so bryde speeches, of the King, and of the Pope, yea of
the

the Emperour Charles, whom such a companion as Stukeley was, could so notably deceive: and it was the more to be marvelled, how he could deceive the King Catholique, considering he was known to many of his Counsell, at the Kinges being in England, to have bene but a vaunting beggar, and a Russian, and afterwarde, a Pirat against the Spaniards.

Now my Lord Ambassadour, by these my large relations of the things euil past, and of the opinions of such as I haue lately dealt withall, with mine owne conceit also, which I do not vainely imagine, your Lordship may see in the first part, our present calamitie, and miserable estate: in the second part, the state of this Queene, her Realme, her people, their mindes, their strength, so farre contrary to the expectation of y^e Popes Holines, the King Catholique, and specially of you (my Lord) and all others, y^e haue bene in hand these many yeres with this Action, as I know not what course shall, or may bee thought meete to take, seeing it is seene by experience, that by force, our cause cannot bee releened. Neither will any change amend the matter, when this Queene shall end her daies, as all Princes are mortall. For both the vniuersalitie of the people through the Realme, are so firmly & desperately bent against our religion, as nothing can preuaile against their vnited forces: and whosoener shall by right succeed to this Crowne after the Queene (who is likely to liue as long as any King in Christendome) if the Crowne should come to the K. of Scots, or to any other of the blood Royall, as there are very manie within this Realme descended both of the Royall houses of York, and Lancaster, there is no accompt to be made, but every one of them, that now liue at this day, are known to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authoritie of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestant or Heretique in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present I know no other way, but to commit the cause to Almighty God, and to all the Saints in heauen, with our continuall praiers: and in earth to the holy Counsels of the Pope, and his Cardinals, with our supplications to releene the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send

A Conclusion by the writer, to perswade another course, not by violence.

No hope for furtherance of the Popes authoritie by any now liuing that may succede the Queene in the line Royall.

A Conclusion what is best, to mainteine the Catholike Religion in England.

into the realme discrete, holy, and learned men, that may onely in secrete maner, without intermedling in matters of estate, by teaching vs, confirme vs in our faith, and gaine with charitable instruction, others that are not rooted in heresie.

A tolleracion
from the Pope
for the Recu-
sants in Eng-
land.

And for reliefe of such as are forced to pay yereley great summes of money out of their reuenus, because they forbear to come to the Church, it were to be charitably considered, whether there might not be some dispensation from the Popes holines, for some few yeares, to tollerate their comming to the Church, without changing of their faith: considering a great number doe stand therein, not for any thing (as they say) vbled in this Church, that is directly contrarie to Gods law, but for that the Rites and pzaiers (though they are collected out of the body of the scripture) are not allowed by the Catholique Church, and the head thereof, which is the Popes holines: and for that cause iustly, all true Catholiques, accompt this Church to be schismaticall. By which remedie of tolleracion, a great number of such as will bee perpetually Catholiques, might enioy their livings and libertie: and in proces of time, the Catholique religion (by Gods goodnesse) might with moze suretie bee increased, to the honour of God, then euer it can be by any force whatsoener. For so did all Christian religion at the first begin, and spread it selfe ouer the world: not by force, but onely by teaching, and example of holines in the teachers, against all humane forces. And so I will end my long Letters, with the sentence which King Dauid vbled foure times in one of his Psalmes. *Et clamauerunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum, & de angustia eorum liberauit eos*: And so must we make that for our foundation to lay our hope vpon, for all other hopes are vaine and false.

At London the

of August. 1588.

After

After that I had made an end of this my letter, which I found by perusall thereof to haue bene at moze length, then I looked for, although the matters therein contained did obay to me thereto, and that I had made choice of a friend of mine who had moze knowledge in the French tong, then I, to turne the same into French: my mishap was, that when he had done some part thereof, he fell sicke of a burning feuer, whereby my letter remained with him vpon hope of recovery for tenne or twelue dayes: and seeing no hope therof, I entreated another very trustie and a sound Catholike hauing perfect knowledge in the French tong, who took vpon him to put it into French, wherein was also longer time spent: so as my letter being written in the middelt of August, I am forced to end it in September. And thereupon I thought good, whiles my former letter was in translating, to add some thinges happened in the meane time met for your knowledge.

About the seventh of August, the Lord Admirall returned with the *Paue*, hauing followed the Spanish *Paue* (as they reported) as farre as the 55. degree Northwardes: the Spanish *Paue* taking a course either to the furthest partes of Norway, or to the Orcades beyond Scotland: which if they did, then it was here iudged that they would go about Scotland and Ireland: but if they should go to Norway, then it might be, that if they could recover prouisions of mastes, whereof the English *Paue* had made great spoile, they might returne. But I for my part wished them a prosperous wind to passe home about Ireland, considering I despaired of their returne for many respectes, both of their wantes, which could not be furnished in Norway, and of the lacke of the Duke of Parmas habilitie to bring his Armie on the Sea, for want of Mariners. Nevertheless, vpon knowledge from Scotland that they were beyond the Orcades, and that the King of Scottes had geuen strict commaundement vpon all the sea coastes that the Spaniards should not be suffered to land in any part, but that the English might land and be releued of any wantes: order was geuen to discharge all the *Paue*, saving twentie shippes that were vnder the Lord Henry Seymours charge, to attend

Order taken by
the K. of Scots
in fauour of the
English.

upon the Duke of Parmas attemptes: either towarde Eng-
 land, which was most unlikely: or toward Zeland, which be-
 gan to be doubted. But within three or foure daies after
 this, suddenly there came report to the Court, that the Spa-
 nish Gaie had refreshed it selfe in the Islandes beyonde
 the Orcades, both with water plentifully, and with bread,
 fish, and flesh, as for their money they could get: and would
 returne hether once againe, to attend on the Duke of Parmas
 Armie, to conduct it by Sea into England. Whereupon grew
 some new busines here, wherewith I know the Quene and
 her Counsell was not a litle perplexed what to do, but in the
 end, order was given to staie the disarming of her Gaie, and
 so the whole Gaie was very speedely made ready againe,
 onely upon the former reportes: wherewith I and many o-
 thers were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and
 upon every light report put to great charges. But this lasted
 not past eight or tenne daies. For upon more certaine know-
 ledge by two or three Minnales that were sent to discover
 where the Spanish Flote was, which certified that they were
 beyond the Orcades, sailing towarde the West, in very euill
 case, hauing many of their people dead in those North partes,
 and in great distresse for lacke of mastes, and also of Part-
 ners: a new commandement was given to dissolve the Ga-
 ie, saying that which should attend on the Duke of Parmas:
 and so the Lord Admirall returned, with the Lord Thomas
 Haward, the Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sheffield, Sir
 Francis Drake, with all the Captaines to the Court, saying
 such as had charge of the Flote, that was vnder the Lord Hen-
 ry. And upon the returns of these sea men to the Citie, there
 are spread such reports, to moue the Noble men, Gentlemen,
 Ladies, Gentlewomen, & all other vulgar people of all sorts,
 into a most fall hatred of the Spaniards, as the poore Spanish
 prisoners were greatly afraid, to haue bene all massacred: for
 that it was published, and of many believed, that the Lordes
 of Spain that were in the Gaie, had made a special diuision
 amongst themselves, of all the Noble mens houses in Eng-
 land by their names, and had in a sort quartered England a-
 mong

Great murmurs
 of all sortes, a-
 gainst the Spa-
 niards.

mong themselves, and had determined of sundry manners of cruell death, both of the Nobilitie, and the rest of the people. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens were also destined to all villanie: the rich Marchants houses in London were put into a Regester by their very names, & limited to the companies of the Squadrons of the Raue for their spoils. And to increase more hatred, it was reported that there were a great number of Valters brought in the Spanish Raue, to strangle the vulgar people, and certain Irons grauen with markes, to be heated for the marking of all children in their faces, being vnder seven yeres of age: that they might be knowen hereafter, to haue bene the children of the conquered Nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the English Raue, as hauing heard the Spaniards confesse the same: so as for a time there was a generall murmure, that these Spanish prisoners ought not to be suffered to liue, as they did, but to bee killed, as they had purposed to haue done the English. But the wisor sort of men, and such as had the charge of the prisoners, hauing no commandement from the Counsel, did straitly looke to the safetie of the prisoners, as a matter not to be so rashly suffered. But to content the people with some other matter, there was vpon Sunday last, at the request of the Maior and his brethren, a great number of Banners, Streamers, and Ensignes, which were wonne from the Spanish Raue, brought to Pauls Church-yard, and there shewed openly in the Sermon time, to the great reioysing of all the people. And after wards they were carried to the crosse in Cheap, and afterwards to London bridge: whereby the former rage of the people was greatly allwaged, the fury generally conuerted into triumph, by boasting in euery place, that this was the Act of God, who had heard the feruent prayers of the people, & was pleased with their former prayers and fastings: to haue such Banners, & Streamers, which the Spaniards meant to haue brought and set vp in all places of the Citie, as monuments of their Triumphes, by his good prouidence in punishing the pride of the Spaniards, now to be created by the English, as monuments of their victories, and of perpetuall shame to the

Report of the
horrible cruel-
ties intended by
the Spaniards.

Banners, Strea-
mers, and En-
signes of the
Spaniards shew-
ed to the peo-
ple.

Daily praiers.

Spaniards. Upon these shewes great reioycing folloved: And as in June and July past, all Churches were filled daily with people exercised with praers, and shewes of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies: and in many Churches continually thrice in the weeke exercises of praers, Sermons, and fastings al the day long from morning to evening, with great admiration to see such generall deuotion (which I and others did iudge to procede moze of feare then of deuotion) so now, since the English Navy is returned, and the Spanish Naue defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in Flanders: of the discentions betwixt the Spaniards, and the other souldiers: of the contempt of the Duke of Parma by the Spaniards, being thereto maintained by a Duke called the Duke of Pastraw, the King Catholiques ballard: and of the departure and running away of the Dukes Partners, here is a like course of the people to Sermons in all Churches: wherein is remembred the great goodness of God towards England, by the deliuey therof from the threatened Conquest, and praers also pubikely to giue thanks to God for the same.

Publike praers
and giuing of
thanks.

At London this of September. 1588.

The Printer to the Reader.

Although it be well known, that neither the first writer of these Letters nowe by me printed, nor yet the Spaniard *Don Bernardin* to whome they are directed, had any desire to heare of any good successe to the state of England: as may appeare in the writer, by shewing him selfe griued, to make any good report of England, other then of meere necessitie he was vrged: and in *Don Bernardin*, who was so impudent, or at the least, so blindly rash, as to disperse in print, both in French, Italian, and Spanish, most false reports of a victorie had by the Spaniards, euen when the victorie was notable on the part of England, and the Spanish vanquished: yet whilest I was occupied in the printing hereof, a good time after the letters were sent into Fraunce, there came to this Citie certaine knowledge, to all our great comfort, of sundrie happie Accidents, to the diminution of our mortall enemies in their famous Fleet, that was driuen out of our seas about the last of Iuly, towards the farthermost North partes of Scotland. Wherefore I haue thought it not amisse to ioine the same to this Lettre of *Don Bernardin*, that he may beware, not to be so hastie of himselfe, nor yet to permit one *Capella*, who is his common sower of reports, to write these false things for truthe.

The particularities wherof are these. The Fleet was by tempest driuen beyond the Isles of Orknay, about the first of August, which is now more then sixe weekes past, the place being about three score degrees from the North Pole: an vnaccustomed place for the yong Gallants of Spaine, that neuer had felt stormes on the sea, or cold weather in August. And about those North Islands, their mariners and souldiers died daily by multitudes: as by their bodies cast on land, did appeare. And after twentie dayes or more, hauing spent their time in miseries, they being desirous to returne home to Spaine, sayled very farre Southwestward into the Ocean to recouer Spaine. But the Almighty God, who alwayes auengeth the cause of his afflicted people which put their confidence in him, and bringeth downe his enemies that exalt them selues with pride to the heauens, or-

dred the winds, to be so violently contrarious to this proud Naue, as it was with force disseuered, on the high seas West vpon Ireland: and so a great number of them, driuen into sundrie dangerous bayes, and vpon rockes, all along the West, and North parts of Ireland, in sundrie places distant aboute an hundred miles asunder, & there cast away: some sonke, some broken, some runne on sands, some burned by the Spaniards themselves.

As in the North part of Ireland towards Scotland, betwixt the two riuers of *Loughfoyle* and *Lough Swilly*, nine were driuen to land, and many of them broken, and the Spaniards forced to come to land for succour amongst the wilde Irish.

In another place, twentie miles Southwest from thence, in a Bay called *Calbeggy*, three other ships driuen also vpon rockes. In another place Southward, being a Bay, called the *Borreys*, twentie miles North from *Galloway*, belonging to the Erle of *Ormond*, one speciall great ship of a thousand tonne, with fiftie brasse peeces, and foure Canons was sonke, and all the people drowned sauing fixteene: who by their apparell, as it is aduertised out of Ireland, seeme to be persons of great estimation.

Then to come more to the Sowthward, thirty miles vpon the coasts of *Thomond*, North from the riuier of *Shemas*, two or three mo perished, whereof one was burned by the Spaniards them selues, and so driuen to the shore: another was of *S. Sebastians*, wherein were three hundred men, who were also all drowned, sauing three score. A third ship with all her lading was cast away at a place called *Breckan*.

In another place afore *Sir Tirlogh Obrynes* house, there was also another great ship lost, supposed to be a Galliasse. These losses aboute mentioned, were betwixt the fift and tenth of September, as was aduertised from sundrie places out of Ireland: so as by accompt, from the one and twentieth of Iuly, when this Naue was first beaten with the Naue of England, vntill the tenth of September, being the space of seuen weekes, and more, it is most likely that the sayde Naue had neuer good day, nor night.

Of therest of the Naue, report is also made that many of them haue bene seene, lying of and on, vpon the coast of Ireland.

land, tossed with the winds, in such sort as it is also doubted, that many of them shall hardly recover Spaine, if they be so weakened with lacke of victuals and mariners, as part of their companies that are left on land do lamentably report. These accidents I thought good to adde to the printed Copies of the letters of *Don Bernardin*: that he may see, how God doth fauour the iust cause of our gracious Queene, in shewing his anger towards these proud boasting enemies of Christian peace: as the whole world, from *Rome* to the vttermost parts of Christendome may see, that she and hir Realme, professing the Gospell of his sonne Christ, are kept and defended, as the words of the Psalme are, *Vnder the shadowe of his wings from the face of the wicked, that sought to afflict her, & compass her round about to take away her soule*: which, I doubt not, by thankfulnessse yeelded by her Maiestie and her whole Reälme, will
alwayes continewe.

The 9 of Octob. 1588.



CERTAINE AD-
VERTISEMENTS OVT
OF IRELAND, CONCER-
NING THE LOSSES AND
distresses happened to the Spanish Na-
vie, vpon the VVest coastes of Ire-
land, in their voyage intended
from the Northerne Isles
beyond Scotland, to-
wards Spaine.

PSALME. iij.

*This was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous
in our eyes.*



Imprinted at London by I. Vautrollier
for Richard Field.

1588.

GERMANE AD
VERTISSEMENTS OF
OF THE LAND, CONCERNING
ALONG THE LOSS OF
difficulties happened to the Spanish
the view on the West coast of the
land in the neighbourhood of
the North Channel
between Scotland and
the Spanish



Printed in London by
R. D. B. 1788

CERTEINE ADVERTISEMENTS OVT OF IRELAND, CONCERNING THE LOSSES HAPPE-

ned to the Spanilh armie vpon the West costes of Irelande, in their voyage intended from the Northerne Isles beyond Scotland, towardses Spaine.



Don Saterday the vii. of September, the barke which was in perit of wack in the bay of Trayly, of betwene fortie and fiftie tonne, did render them selues, in which there were xiiii. men, whereof two were the Dukes owne seruants and two litle boyes.

On Tuesday the x. of this September, there was a Frigate cast of as it seemeth by this nauie, which, as Sir William Herbert sayth, wrecked vpon the coast of Desmond.

On the same Tuesday there wrecked in the sound of the Bleskeys, a ship called our Ladie of Rosary, of 1000. tonne. In this ship was drowned the Prince of Asculc, the Kings base sonne, one Don Pedro, Don Diego, and Don Francisco with seven other Gentlemen of account, that accompanied the Prince. There was drowned in her also Michael Oquendo a principal sea man chiefe governour of the ship: Villa Franca of S. Sebastians, Captaine of the same ship: Maruta, Captaine of the Infanterie of that ship: Captaine Suwares a Portingall, Garrionerie, Ropecho de la Vega, Montencse, and one Francisco Castillian, Captaines, one Iohn Ryse an Irish Captaine, Francis Roch an Irish man, and about 500. persons, whereof 100. were Gentlemen, but not of that reckening as the former were, and onely one Iohn Anthonio de Monona a Genuan, being the Pilotes sonne of that ship, saved.

The same Tuesday it was aduertised to the Vicepresident

The senenth of September.

A place neere to Smerwike where the Spaniards were defeated by the Lord Gray.

Michael Oquendo, was generall of the Squadron of 14. ships of Guipulque.

Fine hundred, rownde whereof were a hundred gentlemen, and one only saved of the whole number.

Seven hundred
drowned, and
one hundred
taken priso-
ners.

Ballicrahihy.
Thirteene gen-
tlemen taken.
Foure hundred
haue sought to
intrench them-
selues.

Seuēty & eight
were drowned
and slaine.

Threescore tak-
en.

Melaghlin Mac
Cab slew foure
score of them.

A Spanish ship
of a thousand
tuns burnt by
the Spaniards.
Two other
ships lost.

Ricaldes the
Admirall in the
sound of Blaf-
key.

of Mounster, that there were lost upon the coast of Thomond
two great ships out of which there were drowned about 700.
persons, and taken prisoners about 150.

About that Tuesday also, as appeareth by a letter written
to Stephan White of Limerik the xii. of this September, there
was cast upon the sands of Ballicrahihy a ship of 900. tons, 13.
of the Gentlemen of that ship, as he writeth are taken, and so
writeth that he heard the rest of that ship being about 400.
haue sought for their defence, being much distressed, so intrench
them selues.

He writeth also of another ship which was cast away at the
Isle of Clerc in Irrie, and that lxxviij. of the men of that ship are
drowned and slaine.

He writeth also that there was about the same time another
great ship cast away in Tireawley, and that there are iij. noble
men, a Bishop and a friar, and lxxx. other men taken by Wil-
liam Boork of Ardnerie, & all the residue of that ship are slaine
and drowned, insomuch as he writeth that one Meleghien
Mac Cabb, a Galloglasse killed 80. of them with his Gallo-
glasse are. Wednesday the xi. of this September, vij. of those
ships that then remained within the Shenan departed out of
that Rode with an Easterly wind, and before their going forth
they set on fire one other very great ship of their company,
which was 1000. tonnes at least.

It was enformed from the Vicepresident at Cork, upon this
xviij. of September last, that two other great ships of that fleet
should be lost upon the coast of Connaught.

The Admirall called Iohn Martin de Ricalde came into the
sound of Bleskeys with one other great ship and a barke about
the vi. day of this September, and remaineth there with one o-
ther ship of 400. tonnes, and a barke which came in since that
time, if they be not dispersed or lost by the great tempest that
was the xvij. and xvij. of this moneth: for the state of the Ad-
mirall at his coming in was thus, the ship had bene shot tho-
row xiiij. or xv. times, his mainemast so beaten with shot as
she durst not beare her full sayle, and now not lx. mariners
left in her, and many of them so sicke that they lye downe, and
the

the reason so tooken, that they were not able to do any good service, and there is duly call over the board out of that ship 100 vi. of the company.

After this was printed thus farre, as every day bringeth more certaintie in particulars of the losse of the Spaniards in Irelande, these reportes which followe came from Ireland, being the examinations of severall persons there taken and saved.

IOHN ANTHONIO DE MONONA AN

Italian, sonne to Francisco de Monona Pilot of the ship called Sancta Marie de la Rose, of a thousand tonnes cast away in the sound of Bleskey.

in September. 1588.

Examined the xi. of September sayth, that he and the rest parted fro the English flēte, as he thinketh, about the coast of Scotland, & at that tyme they wanted of their whole flēte foure Gallies, viij. shippes, and one Galliasse which was the Captaine Galliasse, and there were then dead by fight and by sickness viij. thousand men at the least. Where he left the Duke he knoweth not, but it was in the North Seas about xvij. dayes sithence, he sawe then no land and therfoze can name no place, but they severed by tempest, the Duke kept his course to the sea: we dzeiv towarde land to finde Cape Clere, so did diuers other shippes, which he thinkes to amount to the number of xi. shippes: with the Duke there went xv. shippes.

Eight thousand Spaniards lost by fight and sickness.

Whether he came round about Scotland, he thinks the Duke is by this tyme nere Spaine, the Dukes desire was, after his stay before Callice, to go to Flanders, but by reason of the contrarietie of the windes the shallownes of the water (his ships being great) he could not arrive there.

Besides the shippes before mentioned, he remembzeth that two shippes were sonke upon the coast of Scotland, by reason of shottes receaved from the English shippes, the one called S. Marthew of five hundred tonnes, wherein were drowned foure hundred and fiftie men, the other ship a Byskyc of S. Sebastian of foure hundred tonnes, wherein were drowned

Two ships sonke.

A ship of 1000.
tonne sonke &
of 300 persons
but one saved.

The Kings base
sonne drowned
with other prin-
cipall persons.

Fifty Canons,
twentie five
peeces of ordi-
nance, fiftie
tonnes of secke
& thirde thou-
sand Ducketes
in gold & siluer
sonke.

three hundred and fiftie men, and the shippe wherein he was called S. Marie Rose, of one thousand tonnes; wherein of five hundred there escaped but him selfe, in which shippe of principall men there were drowned, these principall men following. The Prince of Asculé base sonne to the King of Spaine, Capitaine Maruca Capitaine Conualle a Portingall, Rupecho de la Vego of Castill, Suryuero of Castill, Montanese of Castille, Villa Franca of S. Sebastian Capitaine of the sayd shippe. The General of all the fleet of Guipulque called Don Michael d'Oquendo, xx. other Knights & Adventurers upon their owne charges.

He sayeth that the flæte was in great want of fresh water, & being examined what ordinance, wines or other matters of moment were in the shippe here cast away, sayth, there were fiftie great brasse peeces, all Canons for the field, xxv. peeces of brasse and cast iron belonging to the shippe, there is also in her fiftie tonnes of secke. In siluer there are in her xv. thousand Duckettes, in gold almost more, much rich apparell and plate and cuppes of gold.

He sayth also that the Duke of Medina appointed all the flæte to resort and make at the Groyne, and none of them upon paine of death not to departe there hence afore they should know his farther pleasure.

The examination of Emanuell Fremosa a Portingall.

12. September. 1588.

He sayth he was in the shippe called S. Iohn of the porte of Portingall of one thousand one hundred tonne. In which Don Iohn Martines de Ricalde is, who is Admirall of the whole flæte, and is next under the Duke who is Generall, in which shippe at their comming forth there were big. hundred souldiers, and for mariners lx. Portingals and xl. Buskeyns, this is the greatest shippe of the whole nauge.

He sayth they were in all at their comming forth a hundred xxxv. sayle, wherof foure were Galliassees foure Gallies, and ix. of them were vitallers.

They

They came from the Groynce on the xij. day next after mid-
summer last past, by their account.

He sayth they were directed to the Duke of Parma and by
him to be employed for England at such tyme as Parma should
appoint.

He sayth after their departure from the Groynce about vij.
dayes the flects came to the Lysardes.

He sayth about that place, the Generall strake sayle where-
upon they all stroke sayle all night, & the next morning they
saw the English flecte, whereupon they boyled their sayles.

He sayth they were before informed that the English flecte
was in Plymouth and Dartmouth.

He sayth on the Southest of the Lysardes the first fight begā
betwene the flects, and in that fight their shippe lost xij. men.

Fiftene men
lost in fight vps
the Lysardes.

He sayth that there were other fights within a foure or five
dayes after along the coastes, in which the shippe that this ex-
aminat was in, lost xij. men, what were lost in these fights
out of the other shippes he cannot tell, and in these fights they
lost two shippes, in the one of which Don Pedro was, and one
other that was burned.

Five & twen-
tie moe lost in
the same ship.

Two ships lost.

They anchored at Callice expecting the Duke of Parma,
where through the firing of the English shippes they were
driven to leaue their ankers and to depart, so as eche of the
shippes lost two ankers at that place, the next morning, the
fight began about viii. of the cloche in the morning, and conti-
nued viii. houres along the chanell to the North, all which time
the English flecte, pressed the Spanish flecte in such sort as if
they had offred to boyde the Spanish flecte, they sawe their
Admirall so fearefull, that he thinketh they had all yeldes.

He sayth that in the sayd fight the Spanish flecte lost one
Galliasse, which ranne a shoze about Callice, two Gallions of
Lisbone which were sonke being the kings, and one Byskeyne
shippe sonke, of betwene foure and five hundred tonnes, and
one other ship sonke also, after which fight, the Generall tooke
account of the whole nauie, and found that they were left a-
bout a hundred & xx. sayls of the whole flecte, as was deliuered
by those that came from the tappe, but of his owne sight he saw

One Galliasse
cast on shore.
Two Gallions
and one Bis-
keyne sonke.

Three Venetian
ships were
beaten with
shot.

not passing thirty sayle or there aboute, but what was be-
come of the rest he cannot tell.

He sayth that there were also in that fight three great Ve-
netian ships, which were in danger of sinking, being first
beaten and shot through in many places, but were for that
time holpen by the Carpenters, and as he hath heard, for that
they were not able to keepe the sea, took their courses to-
wards the coast of Flanders, but what is become of them he
can not tell.

He sayth they were pursued by some of the English flote a-
bout five dayes after this fight southward out of the sight of
any land, and as he thinketh of the South part of Scotland.

He sayth that about foure dayes after the English flote left
them, the whole flote remaining being towarde one hundred
and twenty saille, as it was said, came to an Island as he thin-
keth of the South part of Scotland, where they staid not,
nor had reliefe, but at this place the Generall called all the
shippes together giving them in charge that they should with
the best they could ball them to the first place they could get to
of the coast of Spaine or Portugall, for that they were in such
great distresse, through their great want of victuals, and o-
therwise. He sayth they came forth the booke furnished there-
of, for that they expected to be relieved of those things more
amply by the Duke of Parma: he sayth that out of this shippe
there died foure or five every day of hunger and thirst, and yet
this ship was one that was best furnished for victuals, which
he knoweth, for out of some of other ships some people were
sent to be relieved in this ship.

After this for a ten dayes the whole flote remaining held
together, holding their course the best they could towards
Spaine.

He sayth that at the same time, which is now about twenty
dayes or more past, they were smitten by a great storme which
helde from foure of the clocke in the after noone of one day, to
ten of the clocke in the morning the next day, in which storme
the Admirall came away with seven and twenty sayle which
this examinant did tell, and that one of them was a Galliesse

of

of eight and twenty owers on a side, what is become of the rest of the shalpe he can not tell.

He saith also that about ten dayes past, they had one other great storme with a mist, by which storme they were agayne severed, so as of those xxvii. sayle there came into the coast by Dingle Cushe, but the Admirall, one other shippe of foure hundred tonnes and a barge of about xl. tonnes, & what is become of the rest of the xxvii. sayle he cannot tell, but of i. great hulke of foure hundred tonnes which was so spoyled as she cast to wardes the shoare about xx. leagnes frō Dingle Cushe he knoweth not who was Captaine of this hulke, he saith that of all sorts there be now remayning in the Admirall nere about five hundred of which there be xxv. Byskeys and foure tie Portingals which are mariners, the Master being verie sick, and one of the Pilottes.

He saith, there be lxxx. souldiers and xx. of the mariners in the Admirall verie sick, and do lye downe and dye dayly, and the rest he saith be all verie weake, and the Captaine verie sad and weake, he saith this Admirall hath in her fiftie foure brasse pieces and about foure score hintals of ponder.

He saith they were so nere the coast before they found it that by meanes of the strong Westerlie winde they were not able to double out from it.

There is in the Admirall left but xxv. pipes of wine, and verie litle bread and no water, but what they brought out of Spaine, which smelketh maruellously, and their flesh meate they cannot eat, their brought is so great.

He saith no part of the nauie to his knowledge euer touched upon any lnd until such time as they came to this coast at Dingle Cushe, nor hath had any water, victuall, or other relief from any coast or place since the English flote left them.

He saith, that when they lay before Callice there came a Minnare to their flote frō the Duke of Parma who told them the Duke could not be ready for them untill the Friday following, but by reason of this sight of the English flote with them, they were not able to tarry there so long.

He saith, that the Admiralls purpose is upon the first winde

that serueth, to passe a way for Spaine.

He saith also, that it is a common bruse amongst the souldiers, if they may once get home againe, they will not meddle againe with the English.

He saith, there be of principall men in the Admirals ship, Don Iohn de Lina a Spaniard, who is chiefe Captaine of the souldiers of that ship, Don Gomes a Spaniard, an other Captaine: Don Sebastian a Portingall gentleman an Adventurer: and a Marquesse an Italian, who is also an Adventurer, & one other Portingall Gentleman whom he knoweth not, but that they are principall men that haue Crosses on their garments: other meane Gentlemen there be also in the same ship. He saith, all the souldiers in this ship were Spaniards: he saith there are in the small Barke that is with them about five and twenty persons, how many are in the Hulke that is there, he knoweth not.

He saith, he thinketh that the Duke is past towards Spaine, for that he was some twelue leagues more Westerly, then the Admirall was in the first storme.

He saith, that the Great Gallion which came from the Duke of Florence, was neuer seene sithence they were in the fight at Callice: He saith, the people of the Galliaes were most spoiled by the English fleet.

The examination of Emannell Francisco a Portingall.

12. September. 1588.

E Mannell Francisco a Portingall, saith in all things as the former examinatur, till the fight at Callice, in which fight he saith he knoweth there was lost a Galliaesse that ranne ashore at Callice, two Gallions of the Kings, the one called S. Philip of the burden of seauen hundred, and the other called S. Matthew of eight hundred, a Biskeine ship of about four hundred, and a Castilian ship of about foure hundred tonne all sunke. This he knoweth for that some of the men of those ships were deuided into the Admirals ship, in which this examinatur was. He saith, after this fight ended, it was deliuered by him at the

the top, that there was one hundred and twenty saile left of the Spanish Fleete, & saith that those were very sore beaten, and the Admirall was many times shot through, and one shot in their mast, and their decke at the prow spoiled, and doth confesse that they were in great feare of the English fleete, and doubted much of boarding.

He saith, the Admirals mast is so weake by reason of the shot in it, as they dare not abide any storme, nor beare such saile as otherwise he might doe, and for the rest he agreeth in every thing with the former examinatur, saving that he saw not, or understood of any Winnace that came from the Duke of Parma, nor doth remember that he saw above xx. saile with the Admirall after the first storme: and saith, that those in the ship that he is in, do say that they will rather go into the ground themselves, then come in such a journey againe for England: and sayth, the best that be in the Admirals ship, are scarce able to stande, and that if they tarrie where they are any time, they will all perish as he thinketh, and for him selfe he would not passe into Dorsetingall againe, if he might chuse: for that he would not be constrained to such an other journey.

John de le Conido of Lekit in Biskey marriner.

12. September. 1588.

John de le Conido of Lekit in Biskey marriner, saith he was in the ship that the Admirall is in, and that he told the Paue after the fight ended at Callice, & that there were then remaining not passing a hundred and ten, or a hundred and twelue of the whole Spanish Paue: and sayth, that a leake fell upon one of the Gallies about fiftene dayes past, which he taketh to be fallen upon the North coast of this land: he sayth, he doth not remember that there were above twenty saile left in the company of the Admirall after the first great storme, which fel on them about thirty dayes sithence: he saith, the Duke did give them expresse commaundement that they should not go on land in any place without his order: he confelleth that the Paue that remained after the last fight, were marvellously

The Spanishe
Navy fore bea-
te with shot by
the English &
their tackling
much spoiled.

The Spaniards
cast their hor-
ses and mules
over bord.

beaten & shot through, & their tackle much cut and spoiled with the shot, and so; the rest of the matter agreeth with the former examinacion in every point in effect, & saith there was an English Pilot with the Duke. He sayth that the Scot that is taken was taken in the North part, after the English flete parted from them in a ship of fifty tonnes in which were about seven men, which the flete hath carried with them, both the ship & people, six of which Scots were aboard the Admirall, whereof one is he that is taken.

He saith, after the English flete parted from them the Spanishe flete cast out all the horses and mules into the sea to save their water, which were carried in certaine hulks provided for that purpose.

The reexamination of Iohn Anthonio of Genua mariner.
15. Septemb. 1588.

He saith his father and him selfe with others came into Lisbonne in a ship of Genua, about a yeare since where they were imbarqued by the King of Spaine, that ship was of about foure hundred tonne.

He saith his father after this was appointed Pilot in the ship called our Ladie of the Rosarie, of the burden of a thousand tonne being the Kings: he saith the Prince of Asculc & Binges base sonne came in the companie of the Duke in the Dukes ship called the Gallion of S. Martine of a thousand tonne, but at Callice when the English came nere the, this Prince went to the shore, and before his returne the Duke was drinke to cut of his anklers, and to depart: whereby the Prince could not recover that ship, but came into the said ship called our Ladie of the Rosarie, and with him there came in also one Don Pedro, Don Francisco, and seven other Gentlemen of account, that accompanied the Prince. He saith the Captaine of this ship was Villa Franca of S. Sebastians, and Matuta was Captaine of the Infanterie of that ship. There was also in her Captaine Suwares a Portugale, and one Garrionero a Castillian Captaine, Lopicho de la Vega, a Castillian Captaine, Cap-
taine

saine Montanese, a Castillian: and one Captaine Francisco, a Castillian: and Michael d'Oquendo who was General of this ship. There was also in her one Irish Captaine called John Rife, of about thirty yeares of age, and one other Irish man, called Francis Roche. The Prince was of about eight e twenties yeares of age. He saith there were other Gentlemen Adventurers in the ship, but not of that reckening as the former were. He saith there were in all seven hundred men in this ship at their comming forth: he saith there were about five hundred in this shippe at such thime as she sonke: the rest perished by sight and by sicknesse. He saith this ship was shot thorough foure times, and one of the shot was betwene the wind and the water, wherof they thought she would haue sonke, and the most of her tackle was spoiled with shot, this shippe strooke against the rockes in the sound of the Bleskies, a league and a halfe from the land vpon Tuesday last at none, and all in the ship perished saving this examinats, who saved him selfe vpon two or thre planks that were loose, the Gentlemen thinking to save them selves by the bote it was so fast tied as they could not get her lose, whereby they perished, he saith as sone as the ship strooke against the rocke, one of the Captaines sine this examinats father, saying he did it by treason. He saith there came in their companie a Portingale ship of about foure hundred, who comming into the same sound, cast anker nere where they found the Admirall of the flete at anker, called S. John, in which Don Martine de Ricalde the Admirall was, he saith that about two and twentie dayes past the Duke departed from them, and about five and twentie ships in his companie, and about forty ships were with the Admirall, but this ship was not able to follow the Admirall, by reason her sayles were broken: and so the rest of the nauie that remained, they were so disperfed, as he can not tel what is become of them. He saith the Duke being better watered then the others were, held more Westerly into the seas, and willed the Admirall with his companie being in worse estate so water to see if he could touch with any coast to get fresh water, thence which they haue bene seuered by the nights and by tempest, he saith

this ship nor any other of the shippes touched vpon any land, nor had any releefe of water or victuall at any place thence they parted, but from two Scots, which they toke vpon the coast of Scotland, whose fish and victuall the Duke toke, but payed them for it.

He saith, their shippes were so beaten, and the wind so contrarie, and the sholles vpon the coast of Flanders, so daungerous, as the Pilot that was in the Dukes shippe, directed them this course Northward as their safest way. He saith, that in one of the dayes in which the fight was betwene both the Parties, the Duke seeing the English flecte so hardlie to pursue them willed his flecte, seeing no other remedie, to addresse themselves to fight. He saith, that in that day of the fight at Callice they lost iij. thousand men in fight, one thousand were drowned in ij. ships, he saith the maister of the Cauallary of the Tercij of Naples and Sicile was slaine in this fight by a great peece that brake his thigh, his name he remembreth not: at which time also the Maister of the camp of the horsemen, & the Maister of the camp of the footemen were both slaine, but their names he remembreth not: He saith the foure Galliasles were of Naples: He saith, the foure Gallies lost the flecte, before they came to the English by wel nere xl. leagues: He saith, the Florentine ship is gone with the Duke: He saith, there were xliii. Venetian shippes in this flecte, two of the he saith are drowned, what is become of the rest he knoweth not, they serued the King but by arrest: he saith there be three English men Pilottes in the Dukes shippe.

He saith, this ship that is drowned hath in her three chesses full of money: he doth not know what moued the Duke to commaund that the whole Partie that remained should repaire to the Groine and not to departe without his direction vnder paine of death.

The examination of Iohn Antonio de Moneke xxx. miles from Ganna. 17. September. 1588.

He saith, the Prince of Asculc was a slender made man, & of a reasonable stature of xxviij. yeares of age, his haire

In the fight at Callice were slaine the Maister of the Cauallary of the Tertij of Naples and Sicily. The Maister of the Campe of the horsemen. The Maister of the Campe of footemen. And foure thousand others, besides a thousande drowned.

of an aboꝛne coulour stroken vpward, of a high forehead, a be-
rie litle beard Marquesotted, whitely faced with some litle red
on the chéekes, he was browened in apparell of white satten for
his dublet and breeches after the Spanish fashion cut, with
russet silke stockings. When this Prince came into their ship
at Callice, he was apparelled in blacke rased veluet layd on
with brode gold lace. He saith, that this Princes men, for the
most part were in the ship y this examinat was in, from their
coming out of Spaine: and when they were at Callice the
Prince passed in a little Phelocke with vi. others from shippe
to shippe to geue order to them, and some said he went to the
shoze at that time.

He saith, it was thought to be about ix. leagues West from
the Northwest part of Ireland, that the Duke departed from
the rest of the companie. He saith they parted by a tempest
growing in the night, and that about vi. dayes after, a Portin-
gall Gallion ouertaking this shippe told vnto those of this ship,
that there were xxi. shippes of the whole nauie passed away
with the Duke, and that the rest then remayning of the whole
nauie were dispersed by this tempest, some eight in one com-
panie, and foure in an other: and thus dispersed he passed on
the seas. But how many shippes remayned after their depar-
ture from the coast of Scotland, of the whole nauie, this exa-
minat can not tell. He saith that after this first tempest which
was about xxi. dayes now past, growing of a Southwest
wind, they had sundry tempestes before they were lost with
variable winds, sometimes one way, and sometimes an other.

The reexamination of Emanuell Fremosa.

1588. 17. September.

EManuell Fremosa mariner examined the same day, saith
that the day next before the great tempest, in which the
Duke was seuered from them, being a verie calme day, him-
selfe counted the nauie then remayning, which then were
but lxviii. saile in all: when they were farthest of in the
North, they were at 62. degrees Northward, and were then a-

bout foure scoze leagues and somewhat moze from any land,
 and at the Northwest part of Scotland, Cape Cleve being then
 from them South and by West, and this was about foure or
 five dayes, before the said great tempest, and from that tyme
 untill the same tempest, they had the winde most West, and
 West Southwest, and sometimes West Northwest, but that
 not verie long, he saith that it was knowen to verie few of the
 nanie that the Prince the Kinges base sonne was in this na-
 mie untill they came vnto Callice, where this Prince about the
 time of the fight, was said to take himselfe into a litle boate
 vpon the coast of Callice, but before that, he kept him selfe as
 priuat in the Dukes owne shippe, as it was said, and not no-
 ted or spokē of in the Spanie untill then. But he saith there was
 a great Prince an Italia, that was a chief man in a great Ar-
 gosie verie well furnished, who before their comming to the
 English coast did verie often banquet the Duke and the other
 great men of the Spanie. This Argosie was called the Ratter:
 he saith he did not perreane if this shippe were in this Fleece
 the day before the said tempest or not, but he saith this being a
 famous shippe, it was often demaunded, if she were in their
 companie, & it was answered that she was, he saith the cheiffest
 of the treasure that serued for the pay, was as he heard in the
 Galliasse that arrined on the shoze at Callice, and in a shippe of
 Siuil made in Galisia called the Gallega of about lxxi. hundred
 tonnes, in which Don Pedro de Valdez was, which was takē
 on the South coast.

The examination of Pierre Carre a Flemming.

HE saith that in the ship that he came hither in called Saint
 Iohn a Gallion of nine hundred tonnes, besides Iohn
 Martin de Ricalde, there are six Captaines, Don Iohn de
 Lune, Don Gomes de Galanezar, Don Pedro de Madri, the
 Count of Paredes, Don Felice, and there is also an Italian
 Marquesse of Piemont called the Marquesse of Faruara.

He saith also, that the Admirall after such time as the fight
 was at Callice came not out of his bed, untill this day seauen
 night

nights in the morning that they ranne vpo the shore. He saith his Admirall is of Biskeye either of Bilbo or Alleredé, and of lxii. yeares of age, and a man of service. He saith, that there were in this nauie of the old souldiers of Naples vnder the conduct of Don Alonso de Sono & of the old souldiers of Sicile vnder the conduct of Don Diego de Piemontelli whose ship was lost nere Callice. There was also Don Alonso de Leua maister of the cap of the Catallery of Millan: he saith, there is a bastard sonne of King Phillips of xxviii. yeares of age in this flete in the ship with the Duke, called the Prince of Ascole in Italie, who passed from thē in a Pinnace about Callice as he toke it.

The Admirall after the fight at Callice came not out of his bed in seauen weekes and more.

By other *Aduertisements* of the fourteenth of September, it is certified to the Lord Deputie of Ireland, from the Earle of Tyrone being at his Castle of Dongannon that vpon intelligence brought to him of the landing of certaine Spaniards in the North of Ireland, he sent two English Captaines with their bandes towarde them, to the number of an hundred and fiftie, who found them at Sir Iohn Odogherties towne called Magh, and there discovering their number to be aboue six hundred, did that night encamp within a musket shot of them, and about midnight did skirmish with them for the space of two houres, in which skirmish the Spanish Lieutenant of the field and twentie moe of the Spaniards were slaine, besides many that were hurt.

Sixe hundred Spaniards assaulted by one hundred and fiftie English, vanquished & taken prisoners.

The next day following they did offer skirmish agayne to the Spaniards, whereupon they all yelded, and so as prisoners were caried to Dongannon to the Earle, who meant to send them to the Lord Deputie, being iudged to be men of good valie and one thought to be a man that hath had some great charge and conduct of men for many yeares, whereof the Lord Deputie will geue knowledge as sone as they shall be brought to Dublin.

There may be some errours in the writing of the Spanish names in English, because the same are written by way of interpretation, but there is no errour in the naming of the persons that are either dead or aliue.

26. September. 1588.

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SHIPS AND MEN SONKE, DROW- ned, killed, and taken vpon the coast of Ireland in the month of September 1588.

In Tyreconnell	In Loughfoyle.	1. ship	1100 men
			<small>At that time and there the ship.</small>
	In Sligo hauen.	3. great ships	1500
	In Tireawley.	1. ship	400
	In Clere lland	1. ship	300
In Connaught	In Finglasse	1. ship	400
	In Oflartie	1. ship	200
	In Irlife	2. ships	<small>The two first into other vessels.</small>
	In Galway bay.	1. ship	70
	In the Shennan	2. ships	600
	In Traylie	1. ship	24
In Munster	In Dingle	1. ship	500
	In Desmond	1. ship	300
	In the Shennan	1. ship burnt	<small>The ship burnt in another ship.</small>
Total		17. ships	of men 5394

AFORE THE LOSSE OF THE FORE-
*said seenteene ships in Ireland, there perished in July & August
 fiftene other great ships in the fight betwixt the English and
 Spanish Navies in the narrow seas of England, where no one
 English Vessell or person of any reputation, perished or was taken.*

	Ships	Men	
First Gallies.	4	1622.	
Neare Ediston by Plimouth at the first conflict.	1	0000.	
* Don Pedro de Valdes ta- ken.	* The same time was distressed & taken Don Pedro de Valdes ship	422.	} These two remaine in Eng- land.
	At the same time by fire a great Biscaine ship.	289.	
* In this vessell Don Hugo de Moncada was slaine.	* Afore Callis spoiled the princi- pall Galeasse of Naples.	686.	
	In the conflict was sonke a great Biscaine.	000.	
* Don Diego Pimentel ta- ken in this	The Gallion S. Philip.	532.	} These two forced into Fla- sing being fore beaten by the English great shot.
	* The Gallion S. Matthew.	397.	
	A Biscaine wrecked before Osted.	000.	
	The day after the fight there sank two Venetians.	843.	
	A great Biscaine forced by two of the Queenes ships to perish at Newhauen.	000.	
	Total of these ships	15	
	Total of both these losses.	32	
	Beside many ships not yet heard of, thought to be lost.		
		10185.	Whereof there are prisoners in England & Zeland at the least 1000. besides a great multitude of men not here accounted, that were slaine in the fight, and that have died of famine, as by the exa- minations aforesaid appea- reth.